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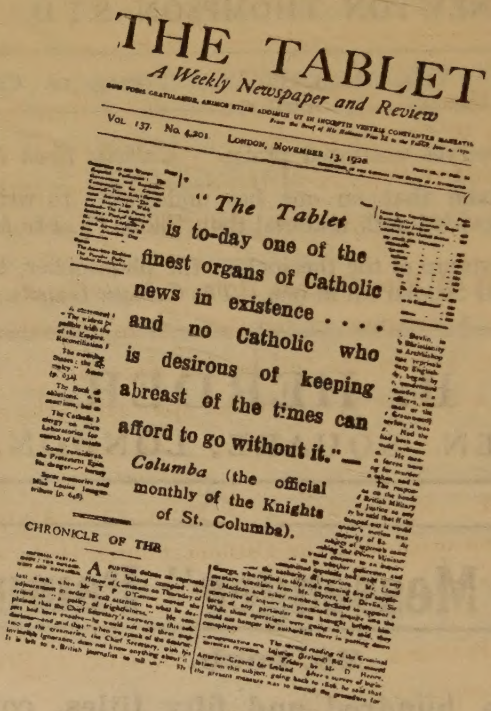
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BELLARMINE AND THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

MOORHOUSE F. X. MILLAR, S.J.
Head, Department of Political Science, Fordham University, New York

IN what follows there will be no attempt to prove that the Framers of the American Constitution were directly indebted to Bellarmine through his writings. Personally I am of the strong opinion that they were; but as any reason for thinking so would have to be based upon the fact of the convergence of probabilities both numerous and varied, it would be quite impossible to establish any such point to the satisfaction of others in the short space of a single article. I shall therefore confine my endeavours to showing that Bellarmine's teaching on the subject of the State and of law and government is in its more characteristic and fundamental points the same as the theory acted on by those chiefly responsible for the framing and the sound and *successful*[1] interpretation of our American Constitution. The subject is a complex one, owing on the one hand to the confused notions adopted by many, even Catholics, in respect to Bellarmine's true position in the history of political thought, and on the other to the failure on the part of Americans generally, and even of our best legal minds, to realize how thoroughly convinced the leading thinkers among the Fathers were that "the science of man and the science of government have been poisoned to their very fountains" and how necessary it is to allow for their point of view as expressed by James Wilson when he said[2]:—

> We now see how necessary it is to lay the foundations of knowledge deep and solid. If we wish to build upon the foundations laid by another, we see how necessary it is cautiously and minutely to examine them. If they are unsound, we see how necessary it is to remove them, however venerable they may have become by reputation; whatever regard may have been diffused

[1] Had Jefferson's theory of "strict construction" been accepted instead of the doctrine laid down by Chief Justice Marshall in McCulloch *v.* Maryland, 4 Wheaton, 316, it is safe to say that the Constitution would not have fared any better than the Articles of Confederation.

[2] *Selected Political Essays of James Wilson*, ed. by R. G. Adams, p. 226.

over them by those who laid them, by those who built on them, and by those who have supported them.

The problem with which we are confronted is therefore both philosophical and historical. We shall be dealing with ideas not only in so far as these are true or false, but also in so far as they stand out as facts of history. Hence the double necessity of avoiding anything like a nominalistic interpretation, which has been all too commonly the method pursued thus far by those who have undertaken to treat of such subjects as the one now under consideration. If we take the question of the doctrine of the "consent of the governed," it is clearly not sufficient to show merely, as some have more or less been contented to do, that it was propounded by Bellarmine and is now found embodied in the Declaration of Independence, and was subsequently acted upon by the Framers of the Constitution. The important point is, in what sense from among the many conflicting and even contradictory interpretations put upon this proposition was it understood by Bellarmine and adopted by the Framers. The whole question of consent in respect to government is inextricably bound up, both logically and historically, with such further problems as that of equality and authority, and only on a very definite and particular understanding of these was it at all possible to arrive at such practical applications of this doctrine as the establishment of the supremacy of law and of the division of sovereignty, whereby our Constitution, among the many forms of government, stands out as unique.[1]

[1] See the chapter I contributed, "Scholasticism and American Political Philosophy," to *Present Day Thinkers and the New Scholasticism*, pp. 327-341. Referring to *The State and the Church*, by J. A. Ryan and M. F. X. Millar, S.J., Father Brodrick, S.J., in his *Life and Works of Blessed Robert Francis Cardinal Bellarmine, S.J.*, V. i, p. 238, objects to my "attempt to turn the Cardinal into a sort of prophet of American Federalism." With all due respects to English prejudices, there was no intention to insult the Cardinal. That the Church's organization was not left out of account by the Fathers when framing the Constitution is clear from the remarks of James Wilson when in the Convention he adverted to the fact that "the popes had generally been elected at very advanced periods, and yet in no case had a more steady or a better concerted policy been pursued than in the Court of Rome." (*Records of the Federal Convention*, by Max Ferrand, V. ii, p. 102).

There is a further aspect of the problem which has been greatly confused by the loose way in which the word *State* has been used by historians in general, and by those who have dealt more particularly with the history of political thought. It is commonly assumed that the word not only meant the same thing, but was understood in the same sense, at all periods of history. The fact is that neither the Greeks nor the Romans had any idea of a State in our modern sense, nor did the earlier Middle Ages conceive of their varied forms of social organization under secular power as anything more than artificial aggregates held together on the basis of contract[1] and welded by the moral necessity of providing for and maintaining ordered peace, according to the demands of Christian justice. In this last respect St. Augustine's political philosophy was applied almost to the letter.[2] As traditionally expounded down to the time of St. Bonaventure, this implied that authority was held to come from God and not from the people. To the people, however, was reserved the important function of designating their rulers by election. The function of the ruler was to assist the subject, and especially the weak and the needy, to a greater freedom in the pursuit of God, the common End of all. Such a view of social organization was necessarily founded on respect for the human person as a primary consideration. Social order, moreover, was not considered as something static, seeing that the demand for progress in more perfect

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[1] It has usually been assumed by historians that the royal Coronation Oath developed out of the feudal contract. Facts tend to show that it antedated the latter. St. John Chrysostom would seem to be the first to have pointed out, in his Commentary on Rom. xiii, 1, that in the nature of things there is an implicit contract between ruler and ruled, which he compares to the marriage contract. This comparison occurs in Suarez and in Burke's *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*. The first Coronation Oath would seem to be that exacted by the patriarch Euphemius from the Emperor Anastasius in 491. *Vid.* Gosselin, *Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age*, p. 187. From there it seems to have passed to England as an institution, for the earliest formula of the royal Coronation Oath is that of the Pontificale of Egbert, Bishop of York, which is the one which was administered to Pepin the Short by St. Boniface. (A. Vétault, *Charlemagne*, p. 90). Theodore of Tarsus may have been the connecting link.

[2] See my article in *Thought*, March, 1928, "The Origin of Sound Democratic Principles in Catholic Tradition."

justice remained constant.[1] With the recovery of Aristotle in the West the idea of the State as something natural was revived, and we know, of course, how St. Thomas's interpretation of Aristotle supplied a new basis for the Christian theory of the State.

But it has been too readily assumed that it was St. Thomas's Christian interpretation that was generally accepted. Even his own pupils, such as Ptolemaeus of Lucca and Giles of Rome,[2] show the corrupting influence of the pagan notions of the revived Roman law, while the teaching of Aristotle as interpreted by the Arabian philosophers, and especially Averroes, all but usurped the field.[3] This is manifest even in Dante, whose *De Monarchia* may in a sense be said to mark the turning point from the earlier Augustinian theory to the naturalistic and absolutist views on the State that came to prevail at the Renaissance. In this he was almost immediately followed and surpassed by such decided Averroists as John of Jandun and Marsiglio of Padua.[4] According to Aristotle, society is natural in the sense that in the State man attains his full perfection. Hence the individual remains wholly subordinate to it. This feature of his theory became greatly accentuated in the Arabian interpretation, according to which the individual members become purely passive and plastic material in the hands of the ruler, whose function it is to shape the State at his own discretion with a view to rendering it powerful.[5] Whatever progress is to be achieved will be effected from without by the *dominant* control of the ruler's will. Hence the

[1] B. Landry, *L'Idée de Chrétienté*, pp. 28, 152.

[2] *Gouvernement des Rois*, publ. by S. P. Molinaer, pp. 243 *et seqq.*

[3] It is interesting to note that when Louis XI attempted to settle the controversy between the Realists and the Nominalists by royal ordinance (March 1473) the decree ran: "Statuimus et edicimus quod predicta Aristotelis doctrina, ejus commentatoris *Averroys*, Alberti Magni, Sancti Thome de Aquino, Egidii de Roma, Alexandri de Hallis, Scoti, Bonaventure, aliorumque Realium doctorum, quorum doctrina, ut dictum est, retroactis temporibus, sana securaque comperta est, tam in sacre theologie quam arcium facultatibus, in predicta Parisiensi Universitate deinceps more solito legatur, doceatur, dogmatizetur, discatur et intimetur. (*Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises*, V. x, p. 669).

[4] Landry, p. 157.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

force of Dante's personification of nature and his reversion to Aristotle's doctrine that " we find individual men and whole nations born apt for government and others for subjection."[1] It is in this sense also that we are to understand his remark that the emperor " is the rider of human will."[2]

Parallel to this pagan and Semitic or Oriental trend in political thought ran the Augustinian theory, but in corrupted form. Owing to Occam, who seems to have been influenced by the Arabian sceptic Gazali,[3] and to the Fraticelli, who fell under the spell of the Eternal Gospel of Joachim of Flores,[4] St. Augustine's metaphysical doctrine in regard to the Divine illumination of the intellect was perverted into an heretical mystical assumption of personal inspiration. Robbed of its ethical meaning and of its objective character in the sense in which St. Augustine had originally defined it, justice was resolved into a Utopian or Apocalyptic ideal unrelated to anything beyond the appealing ideations of each particular zealot.

It was against this background of distracted thought and consequent social confusion that Bellarmine accomplished the singular achievement of recapturing, in the space of a few short chapters, the earlier and sound, if inadequate, Augustinian tradition in respect to ordered peace demanded by justice and brought this into alignment with St. Thomas's neglected teaching on the State as a natural institution willed by God and distinct from the Church. The importance of this achievement may be gauged if it be kept in mind that the purpose of his writing the *De Laicis* was, as has been all too little noted, precisely to establish and defend the legitimacy of law and government and the natural or moral necessity for the existence of the State against the attacks of such as Wyclif, Huss, and the Protestant Reformers. As he shows, the ordered peace of St. Augustine becomes in

[1] *De Mon.*, Bk. ii, ch. 7. [2] *Convivio*, 4, 9, 3. [3] Landry, p. 102.
[4] E. Gebhart, *L'Italie Mystique*, p. 240, and X. Rousselot, *Etude d'Histoire Religieuse aux XII ième et XIII ième Siècles*, p. 123.

the teaching of St. Thomas an essential demand of human nature for the perfect State by reason of both the essential limitations of the individual *plus* an inherent tendency implying a moral obligation to seek his own perfection. Because of the limitations of his individual nature, man is essentially dependent upon his fellowmen in the pursuit of that very perfection or end to which he is intrinsically determined. As St. Thomas had said, improving upon Aristotle, " Man has natural knowledge of the necessities of life only in common, being able by reason of general principles to arrive at knowledge of the particular things necessary to human life. But it is impossible for an individual to attain all knowledge of this kind by his reason. Hence it is necessary for man to live with others."[1]

Following up this argument, Bellarmine adds : " Granted that one man might prevail against an enemy, yet he would always remain ignorant and destitute of wisdom and of justice and of many other virtues, although, indeed, we are born for this very purpose, expressly to cultivate our mind and our will, for the arts and sciences were developed after a long time and by many men, and without a teacher they cannot be learned ; it is impossible, moreover, to exercise justice except in society, since it is a virtue determining equity among many."[2] Viewed thus from the point of view of the principle of final causality as applied to man, the State is seen to be a necessary means. But, as Bellarmine adds, still following St. Thomas, " If human nature needs social life, certainly it also needs a rule and a ruler, for it is impossible for a multitude to hold together for any length of time unless there be one who governs it."[3] Having thus shown the State to be a moral necessity and something demanded by the due order, Bellarmine next turned to consider it from the point of view of the efficient cause, and points out how although authority in the State derives from

[1] *De Regimine Princ.*, Bk. i, ch. 1.
[2] *De Laicis*, ch. 5, transl. by K. E. Murphy, Ph.D. (Fordham University Press).
[3] *Ibid.*

the natural law, which is Divine law, still, as St. Augustine had declared, according to the order prescribed by nature man has no dominion over man.[1] Whence it follows that in the State there is an artificial or contingent element based upon St. Augustine's *pactum societatis* which is the foundation of an established order. By reason of the equality of men as understood in St. Augustine's sense, Bellarmine shows in a manner more explicit than did St. Thomas that by the natural law this power belongs to the collected body, so much so that " it depends on the consent of the people to decide whether kings or consuls or other magistrates are to be established in authority over them ; and, if there be a legitimate cause, the people can change a kingdom into an aristocracy or an aristocracy into a democracy, and *vice versa*."[2] What is more, as he says elsewhere :—

> The secular prince cannot act beyond the limits of the mandate given to him by the causes that set him in power. Now the causes of the secular sovereignty are human and natural, for the efficient cause is the election of the people, and the final cause is the temporal peace and the tranquillity of the State. Therefore, the prince, as such, possesses only the human power and authority which the people are able to give him and which are necessary for the maintenance of temporal peace.[3]

If we turn now to the Fathers of the American Constitution, it will be seen that, from the point of view of theory as well as practice, they were confronted with a problem similar to that of Bellarmine. On the one hand, there were the radical theories appealed to by the demagogues and lustily set forth by ministers of the various Protestant sects, who, once satisfied as to which way the cat was about to jump, proceeded in the cause of " liberty " to mix the issues by drawing indiscriminately on Luther, Calvin, Hoadly, Sidney, Puffendorf, Milton, Burnet, Butler, Wallaston, Tillotson, etc., and especially

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[1] *De Civ. Dei*, Bk. xix, ch. 15.
[2] *Loc. cit*, ch. 6.
[3] *Prima Controversia Generalis, de Verbo Dei*, lib. iii, cap. ix

on Locke;[1] on the other hand, there were the traditional European views in favour of government (all in one form or another suggestive of the Roman law)—Byzantine, Oriental, Gallican, Lutheran, and Anglican doctrine of the Divine right of kings. How thoroughly the Framers were aware of this side of their difficulty is revealed in the words of James Wilson[2] when, dealing with the question of aberrations from the natural law, he manages to sum up a good deal of European history :—

> Some nations that have been supposed stupid and barbarous by nature have, upon fuller acquaintance with their history, been found to have been rendered barbarous and depraved by institution. When, by the power of some leading members, erroneous laws are once established, and it has become the interest of subordinate tyrants to support a corrupt system; error and iniquity become sacred. Under such a system, the multitude are fettered by the prejudices of education, and awed by the dread of power, from the free exercise of their reason. These principles will account for the many absurd and execrable tenets and practices with regard to government, morals, and religion, which have been invented and established in opposition to the unbiased sentiments, and in derogation of the natural rights of mankind.

In the face of the fears and prejudices against strong government created by the colonial reaction to the European experience, it had to be shown, in opposition to the "dissenting" and radical element that were exploiting these fears, that liberty was not only compatible with law and order but in the nature of things necessarily demanded "the restraints of an efficient government,"[3] or in other words, as Bellarmine put it, that "the liberty in which we were created does not conflict with political subjection but with despotic."[4] The delicate point in this was to give a sound and acceptable meaning to what was implied in "efficient." Here, fortunately, the Framers were tellingly supplied with their major premise by the

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[1] A. M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution*, p. 8.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 281. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 164. [4] *Loc. cit.*, ch. 7.

doctrine laid down in the Declaration of Independence. As a national document to which the people of the colonies, acting through their agents, the Signers, had in a moment of common crisis given their assent, its principles could not but prove acceptable. On careful scrutiny, however, it will be found that those principles stood for something very much more definite in the minds of the responsible leaders of the day than they did in the popular interpretation put upon them; and it must be admitted that, owing to the illusion created by a superstitious regard for Rousseau's fiction of a "general will" of the people, it is this early popular interpretation that has come to be accepted as alone authentic, especially by our university professors. Therefore in this connection it is well to remember that it is quite irrelevant to refer to what Jefferson may have thought he intended when he wrote it. As C. E. Merriam is ready to admit, "Jefferson falls far short of the stature of a great political philosopher."[1] If the document means anything in the sense of committing us as a people, it is to be understood in accordance with the interpretation put upon it by those who acted on it when engaged in the task of developing our institutions, which in so far as we have subscribed to them in practice have helped to make us what we are. On this test we can eliminate Milton, to whom appeal is so frequently made by those who would insist on the Protestant origin of American liberty. To my knowledge he is never mentioned by any of the Fathers except John Adams, who referred to him only to repudiate him. Writing to his radical cousin, Samuel Adams, he says in the course of discussing the meaning of the word republic: "By the republican form I know you do not mean the plan of Milton, Nedham, or Turgot. For, after a fair trial of its miseries, the simple monarchial form will ever be, as it has ever been, preferred to it by mankind."[2]

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[1] *History of American Political Theory*, p. 171.
[2] B. F. Wright, *Source Book of American Political Theory*, p. 280.

There remains the all too common view summed up in the words of Merriam: "No better epitome of the Revolutionary theory could be found than in John Locke on civil government."[1] It is undoubtedly true that Locke's views contributed greatly to strengthening the belief that "taxation without representation is tyranny," but none of the leading minds at the time of the Revolution subscribed to Locke's muddled notion that "government has no other end than the preservation of property."[2] At the very outset, in 1764, James Otis, in his pamphlet, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, repudiated this Lockian view. Hence it is very important to note that, in the general enumeration of inalienable rights in the Declaration of Independence, "the pursuit of happiness" is substituted for Locke's "property." Several years ago, in *The State and the Church*, I pointed out the all-important significance of this for a proper understanding of the position taken by the leaders of the Revolution once they realized that the Constitutional claims on which they had taken their stand were being definitely denied. As I then noted, James Wilson, in a pamphlet entitled *Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament*, asserted, two years before Jefferson wrote the Declaration:

> All men are, by nature, equal and free: No one has a right to any authority over another without his consent: all lawful government is founded on the consent of those who are subject to it: Such consent was given with a view to ensure and to increase the happiness of the governed, above what they could enjoy in an independent and unconnected state of nature. The consequence is, that the happiness of the society is the *first* law of every government.

Quite recently Gilbert Chinard, in his work *Thomas Jefferson, the Apostle of Americanism*, having adverted to the connection between Jefferson's phrasing in the Declaration and Wilson's earlier pamphlet, states sen-

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 90. [2] *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, Bk. ii, ch. 7.

tentiously: "I do not believe that any other State paper in any nation had ever proclaimed so emphatically and with such finality that one of the essential functions of government is to make man happy, or that one of his essential natural rights is 'the pursuit of happiness.'"[1] But then he adds, with the characteristic "open-mindedness" of the French rationalist, that "the whole Christian civilization had been built on the idea that happiness is neither desirable nor obtainable in this vale of tears and affliction, but as a compensation Christianity offered eternal life and eternal bliss." Now it just so happens that the principle that happiness is the end of government in the sense in which it was understood not only by Wilson but by Madison and Hamilton is the same as that laid down by St. Thomas in his *De Regimine Principum*,[2] and asserted by Bellarmine when he states as the fundamental reason for holding that political rule is natural and necessary, that "we are born for this very purpose, expressly to cultivate our mind and our will." That there might be no mistake as to how far the principle carried, Madison,[3] in a letter to James Monroe, declared:—

> There is no maxim, in my opinion, which is more liable to be misapplied, and which, therefore, needs more elucidation, than the current one, that the interest of the majority is the political standard of right and wrong. Taking the word "interest" as synonymous with "ultimate happiness," in which sense it is qualified with every necessary moral ingredient, the proposition is no doubt true. But taking it in the popular sense as referring to immediate augmentation of property and wealth nothing can be more false. In the latter, it would be the interest of the majority in every community to despoil and enslave the minority.

It is true that in the Federal Convention Gouverneur Morris, discussing the question of apportionment, said: "He thought property ought to be taken into the estimate as well as the number of inhabitants. Life and liberty were generally said to be of more value than property. An accurate view of the matter would nevertheless prove

[1] P. 75. [2] Lib. i, ch. 14. [3] Works, Vol. i, pp. 250, Congress ed.

that property was the main object of Society."[1] But a few days later James Wilson, arguing on the question as to whether representation should be based "upon the principles of *wealth* and numbers of inhabitants," came back with the assertion that "he could not agree that property was the sole or the primary object of Government and Society. The cultivation and improvement of the human mind was the most noble object. With respect to this object, as well as other *personal* rights, numbers were surely the natural and precise measure of Representation."[2] And it was Wilson's view that prevailed.

This certainly is all very far removed from Locke's view that "the great and chief end of men uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, it is the preservation of their property."[3] "The pursuit of happiness," which the Fathers considered as the true end of government, was, as may be seen from Madison's remarks, considered as closely bound up with "ultimate happiness" to which man is intrinsically or essentially ordained by his very nature antecedently to all will, whether his own or that of others. This essential relationship of man to his ultimate happiness is, moreover, the only intelligible basis for a doctrine of inalienable rights. That the Fathers understood the doctrine in this sense is clear from their peculiar use of the word "secure" as it occurs in both the Declaration of Independence and the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States. Hence their meaning is something quite different from the gratuitous notion of Locke and of the Levellers from whom he borrowed it. As Locke put it, "Men being by nature all free, equal, and *independent*, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent."[4] The Fathers, though thoroughly convinced that the individual is endowed with inalienable rights,

[1] *Records of the Federal Convention*, ed. by Max Ferrand, Vol. i, p. 533.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 605. [3] *Loc. cit.*, Part ii, ch. 9. [4] *Ibid.*, ch. 8.

were far from considering him as independent of his fellows. To their minds he stood out as equally social by nature in the same sense in which Bellarmine, following St. Thomas, held him to be dependent upon the State as a necessary means to "the pursuit of happiness." That such was the case should be fairly clear from the following words of James Wilson :—[1]

> Having enumerated some of the difficulties which the convention were obliged to encounter in the course of their proceedings, I shall next point out the end which they proposed to accomplish. Our wants, our talents, our affections, our passions, all tell us that we were made for a state of society. But a state of society could not be supported long or happily without some civil restraint. It is true that, in a state of nature, one individual may act uncontrolled by others ; but it is equally true that, in such a state, every other individual may act uncontrolled by him. Amidst this universal independence, the dissensions and animosities between interfering members of the society would be numerous and ungovernable. The consequence would be that each member, in such a natural state, would enjoy less liberty, and suffer more interruption, than he would in a regulated society. Hence the universal introduction of governments of some kind or other into the social state. The liberty of every member is increased by this introduction, for each gains more by the limitation of the freedom of every other member than he loses by the limitation of his own. The result is that civil government is necessary to the perfection and happiness of man.

It only remains to be shown whether the Fathers allowed for the contingent or artificial element in the state in the same sense in which Bellarmine, interpreting St. Augustine's *pactum societatis*, qualified it by St. Thomas's doctrine of the State as a natural institution willed by God. As W. S. Carpenter, in his recent book *The Development of American Political Thought*, very properly states : "The men of 1787 did not regard the people, comprising the whole body of citizens, as a thoroughly amorphous body which has no legal or political significance." But then he adds : "They were in effect

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 172.

following Locke, who denied that sovereignty can exist anywhere except in the community as a whole."[1] This I deny. Locke throughout his Treatise is constantly making that to appear a question of "natural right" or "natural law" which the Fathers very clearly considered as a matter of convention to be freely determined by the people within such limits as were demanded by the natural law—which, in accordance with Bellarmine, they held to be Divine law. As Wilson insisted:[2]

> Nature, or, to speak more properly, the Author of nature, has done much for us; but it is his gracious appointment and will that we should also do much for ourselves. What we do, indeed, must be founded on what he has done; and the deficiencies of our laws must be supplied by the perfections of his. Human law must rest its authority, ultimately, upon the authority of that law, which is divine.

But treating of the general principles of *positive human law* and obligation, Wilson takes serious exception to Blackstone's definition that "law is that rule of action which is prescribed by some superior and which the inferior is bound to obey."[3] What he objects to is Blackstone's assumption that there can be *no* law without a superior. In the course of his treatise he reviews the various writings of European authorities such as Puffendorf, Bishop Saunderson, Hobbes, Grotius, Barbeyrac, Heineccius, Bishop Taylor, Domat, Paley, and even Burlamaqui, and shows how they all hold in more or less extreme form the same view as Blackstone. On superficial reading one might easily conclude with Professor Carpenter that Wilson was committing himself to Locke's or to Rousseau's notion that sovereignty existed inalienably in the people. But what Wilson is really aiming at is to establish the truth of what Bellarmine asserted when he said: "Divine law gives this (political) power to no particular man; therefore Divine law gives this power to the collected body." Or, as St. Augustine

[1] P. 166. [2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 256. [3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 225.

had originally stated it : according to the order prescribed by nature man has no dominion over his fellow-man. He does not deny but that the people may transfer sovereignty to one or many, but he holds that in doing so they cannot confer any original superiority on the ruler in the sense that he could be considered as holding jurisdiction independently of the fact and of the terms of an original grant of the people founded in their free consent. / As he says : discarding the will of (one who is naturally or otherwise) superior, " as an improper principle of obligation in human laws, it is natural to ask—What principle shall be introduced in its place ? In its place I introduce—the consent of those whose obedience the law requires. This I conceive to be the true origin of the obligation of human laws." | This is nothing else than what Bellarmine meant when he asserted that *in the concrete* the people are the efficient cause of that political power which *in the abstract* is demanded by the nature of the State in so far as it is founded in the social nature of man. As Washington expressed it in his Farewell Address, by way of summing up the philosophy of the American Constitution :—

> This [Constitution of] Government, the offspring of your own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment has a just claim to your confidence and your support. —Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty.—The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government.—But the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by the explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory on all.—The very idea of the power and the right of the People to establish Government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

Moorhouse F. X. Millar.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

FIVE years ago the present writer contributed to this review an article carrying the same title, "The Economic Position of Great Britain." The article was occasioned by the pessimistic statements of leading authorities on the economic outlook before Britain after nearly six years of trade depression. There had been a debate in the House of Commons, where the special question asked was whether the condition of unemployment which had then lasted for several years was to be regarded as temporary or chronic. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, then President of the Board of Trade, said he believed it was temporary, but declared that improvement depended not on anything that the Government could do so much as on the efforts of the people themselves.

Another question asked was whether Britain was paying her way or living on her reserves. There had been a very small favourable trade balance for 1924, and when the House of Commons debate took place on July 6th, 1925, it looked as if there was to be a worse year. Sir Philip's conclusion was: "I am sure it is putting it too high to assume that we are really living on our reserves. We are, undoubtedly, very gravely below our pre-war capacity to invest."

A third question was whether Britain was suffering more than her share of a world-wide economic depression, and Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, who, as President of the

Board of Trade, spoke with chief authority, rather diffidently expressed the opinion that Britain was getting her pre-War share of the international trade that was going.

It may be worth while to review to-day the same questions that we considered five years ago. At that time the two cardinal facts were the magnitude and persistence of unemployment and the loss by Britain of about a fifth or a quarter of her export trade, coupled with an increase of imports which reduced her favourable trade balance. As regards unemployment, the position has not improved since 1925. The year following was one of calamity, for it saw not only the General Strike but the much more disastrous stoppage of the coal mines for eight months. 1927 was a better year, but the number of registered unemployed always exceeded a million and at one time reached 1,451,000. Every subsequent year has been worse, and the present year looks like being the worst of the series. Mr. Baldwin, speaking at Brighouse, Yorkshire, on July 26, said: "To-day, after thirteen months of government by the party which got in largely on their promises of what they would do both for unemployment and the betterment of the people, unemployment is but little under two millions." And *The Times* of July 28, in a leading article on "Railway Dividends," wrote: "As was to be expected, the L.M.S. and L.N.E. Railways suffered most heavily, since they serve between them nearly all the industrial areas in the United Kingdom which are feeling most acutely the effects of the prevailing depression. How severe that depression has been may be judged from the fact that the gross earnings of these two companies show a decrease of more than £2,500,000 as compared with the first six months of last year."

There is a natural connection between the state of trade and the amount of unemployment. In 1924 Britain had lost a quarter of the foreign markets she possessed

on the eve of the Great War. There has been some recovery by Britain since 1924, but not sufficient to restore her to the position she occupied in 1913. The changes in the value of money make the ordinary returns of imports and exports misleading guides to changes in the volume of trade. British officials now take 1924 as their index years, and they calculate the values of goods on the basis of the prices ruling in 1924. The movement in the volume of exports since 1924 can be conveniently seen from the following table :—

BRITISH EXPORTS, 1924-1929.

Values on Basis of 1924 Prices.

	Thousand £	% of 1924 Total.
1924	800,967	100.0
1925	795,136	99.3
1926	711,841	88.9
1927	819,382	102.3
1928	838,348	104.7
1929	867,800	108.3

(Figures taken from the Statistical Abstract and Board of Trade Journal.)

A rise of eight points in five years is a small mercy for which gratitude is not lacking. However, on the basis of 1924 prices, as taken in the table above, the percentage for the exports in 1913 would have been 131.4. So that in 1929, the best of the post-War years, Britain had only about four-fifths of her old foreign markets, though she had a considerably increased population to provide for. Imports, indeed, have increased even faster than population, and it is significant that manufactured goods figure prominently among the increased imports. The net imports of manufactured goods have increased by no less than 35 per cent. since 1924. There can be no doubt that the increase of imported manufactures and

the comparative decline of British exports are due to the same factor : British costs of production are higher than those of competitors.

It is no longer possible to hold the opinion, expressed by Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister in 1925, that Britain has maintained her pre-War proportion of world trade. The following table, compiled from the League of Nations Memorandum on International Trade and Balance of Payments, shows that in 1928 Britain's share of world exports was nearly 25 per cent. less than in the last pre-War year :—

BRITAIN'S SHARE OF WORLD EXPORTS.

	per cent.
1913	13.93
1924	13.01
1925	12.43
1926	10.93
1927	11.01
1928	10.92

The world as a whole has more than recovered from the losses of the war. Trade between nations was 20 per cent. greater in 1927 than in 1913. The greatest progress has been made in North and South America ; but Europe, which had 58.4 per cent. of world trade in 1913, had as much as 50.8 per cent. in 1927. If Britain had done as well as the European average, she would be in a much better position than she is now.

British officials now take the view that for a number of years they had erred by understatement of Britain's favourable balance of trade. The error arose through under-estimates of " invisible exports " in the shape of shipping earnings, income from overseas investments, commissions, etc. The favourable balance of 1924 was originally given as £30,000,000. In January, 1926, the Board of Trade Journal published an article giving reasons

for thinking that the favourable balance in 1924 had been between £40,000,000 and £50,000,000. The country did better in 1925 than Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister had expected when he spoke of it being no more than square on the year's account; 1926, owing to the coal stoppage, was a year when the balance was unfavourable. In 1927, according to estimates in the Board of Trade Journal, the favourable balance was £114,000,000; in 1928, £152,000,000 millions, and in 1929, £151,000,000. Particulars of the items of "invisible" exports, which turn an adverse "visible" balance of £366,000,000 into a favourable balance of £151,000,000 for 1929, are of interest:—

	In million £'s.
Estimated excess of government receipts from overseas	22
Estimated net national shipping income	130
Estimated net income from overseas investments	285
Estimated net receipts from short interest and commissions	65
Estimated net receipts from other sources	15

It is both surprising and gratifying that Britain has been able to maintain so large a favourable balance when she has lost so heavily in export markets. There is reason for disquiet, however, in the fact that so much depends on income from overseas investments. This is income that supplies the wants of rentiers and their dependents, but it does not indicate activity of British industry. Considerable indignation was generated early this year when one of the leading firms on the London Stock Exchange, in a reasoned circular to its clients, advised them to sell the shares of almost all British industrial companies on the ground that the industrial prosperity of England is much more than temporarily depressed. The writer said: "Schemes of rationalization, wage reduction, re-

equipment or protection might reduce our disadvantages and moderate the pace of our decline, but I think it is quite unreasonable to expect that we shall regain our leadership. Our future financial position is another matter, which depends upon other factors than our industrial prosperity, and not least upon the action of our investors, whose policy is the subject matter of this memorandum. If we invest well, we may maintain our financial prosperity in spite of the decline of our home industries."

Though this circular was heatedly denounced as unpatriotic by the Minister for Unemployment in the House of Commons, the advice has undoubtedly been acted upon by investors, and indeed it was open to the cynical criticism from the investing point of view that it came too late, for British industrial securities were already at unprecedentedly low levels. The ordinary shares of British railways are now quoted to yield dividends of over 8 per cent. There could not be a stronger proof of loss of confidence in the outlook for British industry. The number of people who will be able to derive comfort from the maintenance of "financial prosperity" is limited.

It requires optimism to believe that even the select class who hold cosmopolitan investments can be really prosperous in a country with unprosperous industries and with such financial liabilities as those of Great Britain. The National Debt to-day is £7,469,060,000. This is higher, even in nominal amount, than in 1919, so that the War is not wholly to be blamed. The real burden to-day is immensely heavier than in 1919 because of the higher purchasing power of money. The penalty that the country pays for tolerating such huge indebtedness is shown by a list of the annual payments made for interest and management of the Debt, payments of crushing weight which leave the Debt ever growing in real if not in nominal magnitude.

NET EXPENDITURE ON NATIONAL DEBT AND MANAGEMENT.

Year ending 31 March,	
1919	269,326,958
1920	327,481,864
1921	328,832,237
1922	306,603,281
1923	299,827,995
1924	307,811,009
1925	312,582,170
1926	308,846,008
1927	318,420,782
1928	313,855,243
1929	310,377,549
1930	307,251,685

It is true that most of this is paid within the country and is only a transfer from one section to another, and a substantial part of it gets back to the Treasury in the form of income tax, surtax and death duties. Making all these allowances, the burden of interest on the community, and especially upon industry, is crushing.

There are reasons for thinking that the greatest economic strain will be felt by Britain within the next twelve months or two years. She made some recovery following the disastrous coal stoppage of 1926, because the usual industrial belligerency was tamed and there was an unwontedly long period undisturbed by strikes and lock-outs. Moreover, there was active trade throughout the world until the second quarter of 1929. Then came the Wall Street collapse, and the world has since been in a trough of depression. The fall in prices, though it has many compensations to an importing country like Britain, must reduce incomes and the yield of taxation, while the National Debt and the requirements for interest payment are unabated. Other

responsibilities of the State—pensions, insurance, etc.—are virtually irreducible. The Left Wingers of the Labour Party see no difficulty in increasing the rate of taxation; but this does not commend itself even to the Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer who, in his Budget speech, went out of his way to promise, as far as he could promise, that there would be no increased taxation in the next Budget. Mr. Philip Snowden admitted that, in the present state of the world, not even a Socialist Government can afford to destroy all confidence in those who direct business enterprise and the investment of capital.

The reduction of the coalminers' working day from eight hours to seven-and-a-half may have very damaging results on the export trade in coal. On the other hand the two great textile industries, cotton and wool, have effected reductions in wages during the term of office, it is interesting to note, of a Labour Government. However, it is not much use trying to guess the influence on the future of particular factors like these. No economic student can forget the doctrine that Marshall emphasised when he took as his motto *Natura non facit saltum:* economic evolution is gradual and continuous on each of its numberless routes. Not even the most pessimistic can expect to see Britain falling to pieces. Decay is as slow a process as growth. If a " crisis " should come from economic causes it would most probably be of the same nature as that through which Australia is passing at the present time, and it would probably get the same treatment in its first stages—the restriction or prohibition of inessential imports—a treatment so inadequate as to be only a preliminary to more drastic efforts.

Britain has not been altogether lacking in attempts to improve her industrial efficiency during recent years. Schemes of " rationalization " have been adopted by a number of important industrial concerns. The immediate effect of rationalization, however, is to increase unemployment. It may be prophesied with considerable confidence

that Britain will try the experiment of protective tariffs in the not distant future. Mr. Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is a convinced Free Trader and is a leader of great ability and influence in his party. In the Liberal ranks also are extremely able men who adhere to Free Trade as a religion, or at least as a scientific principle which only ignorance and stupidity can reject. There are also the vested interests, the shipowners, the importers of foreign goods, and the exporters, that adhere to Free Trade. Free Traders have won every battle they have fought in England for ninety years; but whether they are right or wrong the country will try some other system in the hope of reducing the number of unemployed. The Conservative Party has adopted a definitely protectionist policy, which it calls Safeguarding. It would not be surprising if the nominally Free Trade Labour Government came to some agreement with the Dominions at the forthcoming Imperial Economic Conference, which will extend the system of Imperial Preference, despite the rigorous Cobdenism of Mr. Snowden.

In revising her fiscal policy Britain will seek to get a favoured position for her manufactures in the markets of the Overseas Empire, and this will necessitate giving reciprocal advantages to Empire products in Britain. Empire products mean foodstuffs, and foodstuffs cannot be confined to raisins and canned salmon, but must include wheat and beef. No one has yet suggested any way of giving the Empire producers an effective preference in British markets without raising the price of staple foods. However, the Conservative Party has decided that the price is worth paying, and there are signs that the Labour Party is moving towards the same conclusion.

Lord Beaverbrook's campaign in favour of "Empire Free Trade" can be demonstrated to be absurd. There is not the faintest chance of the Dominions allowing the free importation of British manufactures which compete with their own. The system proposed by Lord Beaver-

brook is one of Protection, not Free Trade, and as far as Britain is concerned she is already doing practically all that she can do for Empire Free Trade by admitting Dominion products duty-free. Yet the Empire Crusade has flourished on the demonstrations of its absurdity. The name Empire Free Trade has proved attractive even though it be inaccurate. There may be no hope in the minds of instructed politicians of the Dominions demolishing their tariff walls against Britain; but popular enthusiasm has been generated for a practicable policy of closer trade relations between Britain and other parts of the Empire, a policy to be carried out by means of preferences and special trade agreements. A Labour Government was returned at the last election, because the British people wanted to see the unemployment problem tackled by new men in a new way. The results have been disappointing, and the people are turning to "Empire Free Trade" as a new policy that promises success.

Some of the more thoughtful Conservatives are appalled at the thought of the country being persuaded that its deep-seated economic troubles can be remedied by manipulations of tariffs and preferences. Lord Salisbury, in a letter which appeared in *The Times* of March 25, tried to call attention to what he called "the true perspective of the fiscal question." Safeguarding, he said, might be a good thing, Empire trade agreements might be good things, but they must take a long time to yield their fruits. "The genuine enthusiasm with which it has been preached, the favour with which it has been received, include a subconscious effort to escape from the truth, and it is only by recognizing the truth that we can be saved. The truth is that, as an industrial nation, we have become demoralized." Lord Salisbury proceeds to accuse British industrialists of out-of-date equipment and organisation, and British merchants of want of adaptability and enterprise. He bases his accusations on the Reports of Govern-

ment Committees of Inquiry. He blames also the mine-workers, and other workers by implication, for wanting to do less work and get more pay, and he concludes : " I am no Cobdenite, but what is the good of relying at this moment upon tariff reform, the results of which must in any case be years ahead, when the real reason for industrial depression is patent before our eyes ? What we require is a new spirit in capital and in labour, a spirit of co-operation with a system free from bad organization on the one side and unreasonable trade union restrictions on the other, and, above all, we require a new spirit among politicians and local authorities."

In the present writer's opinion Lord Salisbury is only stating boldly what every instructed person knows to be the truth when he insists that British recovery is not to be attained by anything so easy as taxing the foreigner ; it can be attained only by improved efforts and more harmonious co-operation on the part of the British people themselves. In my article five years ago I said the greatest hindrance to Britain's efficiency and progress is the chronic conflict between Capital and Labour, and I still adhere to this view. I believe that if there were peace between the two parties, the spirit of confidence that would then be engendered in British industry would naturally lead to those technical improvements in equipment and organisation that are needed. We can say with Lord Salisbury that " a new spirit " is required. It is by no means an original remark, but it shows a recognition that for Britain's present economic troubles the remedy must be moral.[1]

H. Somerville.

[1] On August 11 the registered unemployed were 2,050,737, or 882,669 more than a year ago. The year 1930 will be one of the worst on record. If the depth of the depression this year can be attributed partly to world causes, this should not disguise the fact that British trade has been depressed for eleven years.

IRISH COLONIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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IT has been emphasized very frequently that free land was the loadstone that attracted the immigrant to America. It certainly played a most prominent part in immigration and exercised a most profound influence on the outlook of the American people for more than a century. Free land was held up as a panacea for all the ills that beset the nation. Why should people suffer from the ills of city life as long as there was a vast continent that beckoned them and that promised to reward them out of its seemingly inexhaustible resources?

The pioneers in the westward development of the United States were interested in hunting and trapping. They had no thought of clearing the forest or bringing any large part of land under cultivation. The hunters and trappers did not settle in any particular place. They were always seeking new fields in which game was more plentiful. On the trail of the hunters and trappers came the settlers who were attracted by the bounties that a rich soil had to offer. The first settlers, however, had no thought of establishing a permanent residence in any particular location. As soon as their farms increased in value they were glad to take their profits and move on to some new and unsettled land or possibly to the nearby cities. They were more speculators in the land than real farmers. In the third state of the development of America's great agricultural demesne came the real farmers, who were interested in making a permanent home in the land. The real farmers were

interested in improving the land; they were interested in rotation of crops; they were interested in bringing to their work the best that science and human experience had to offer.

For the Irish immigrants who came to this country during the years immediately following 1820 there were relatively few opportunities in the city. American industry was just entering upon the factory stage. The only communication between the cities on the eastern seaboard and the new territory west of the Alleghenies was the stage coach. New Orleans was the natural outlet for trade between the middle west and foreign countries. One of the largest economic problems that confronted the American people was the opening of the channels of communication between the east and the middle west. The leaders of the nation regarded the canal as the great means of linking the new country that had just been brought into cultivation with the country's industrial cities. The development of American industry depended more than anything else on ready access to the supply of raw materials, and the canal was the only means in sight through which this access could be had. Hence it was that the various states vied with one another in building canals. New York lead the way with the building of the Erie Canal, which was begun in 1817.

But the other states were not to be outdone. Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Ohio and Illinois very quickly followed suit. Between 1820 and 1830 over 800 miles of canals were opened to navigation in New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. In 1830, 1,300 miles more were nearly completed.[1] As rivalry in canal building reached its height, competition with the railroad began to loom on the horizon. Between 1830 and 1840 railroad building was in an experimental stage. After 1840 railroads began to compete seriously with the rivers and canals.[2]

[1] *Old Towpaths.* Alvin Harlow, p. 73.

[2] *Economic History of the United States.* Bogart, p. 210.

The digging of the canals was the most important field of labour for Irish immigrants between 1820 and 1840. Large numbers of Irish labourers were employed in digging the Erie Canal. It has been stated on reliable authority that practically all the canals constructed in America prior to the Civil War were dug by Irishmen.[1] Most of the railroads were also built by Irish labour. Their work on the canals and railroads gave the Irish immigrants a splendid opportunity of acquiring good land for a very nominal price. The more enterprising among the immigrants availed themselves of this opportunity. Irish colonization in this country therefore began with the canal and railroad workers. Some of the most successful Irish colonies in New York State are to be found along the Erie Canal from Troy to Buffalo. Many prosperous Irish colonies are to be found along the Illinois Canal from Chicago to Peoria. The Irish in southern New York and Northern Pennsylvania are to be found along the lines of the Erie and Lackawanna Railroad. If one studies the history of any Irish colony east of the Mississippi River, he will find that it traces its origin to the Irish railroad and canal workers.

When Irish immigration reached its height in the forties and fifties, American industries held out increasing opportunities for employment to immigrant workers. The Irish, therefore, tended more and more to congregate in the large industrial centres. They took the places of American workmen who had heeded the call of the West. Due to their unacquaintance with the conditions of American city life and their lack of systematic organization, the Irish immigrants had to suffer many hardships. Those who were really interested in their welfare continually bewailed the fact that they did not avail themselves in larger measure of the free land that America placed within their reach. How was it that a purely agricultural people like the Irish took to industrial work so easily when they

[1] *Old Towpaths*, p. 59.

might have secured rich land free of charge. This was the question continually before the minds of those interested in the Irish immigrant between 1840 and 1880. A writer in *Donohue's Magazine* says: "It has always seemed strange to every thinking person why the Irish, who at home are the most purely agricultural people in Europe, should be so fond of settling in the cities in America." This writer believed that the fact could be at least partially accounted for by the entire absence of ordered supervision in the way in which Irish immigration has been carried on. "The British government was only too glad to get them out of Ireland and could hardly be expected to take much interest in their welfare in America; but it has always seemed strange that some organization was not put on foot either by intelligent laymen or by the Catholic Church to give shape to Irish immigration to America. This has been done for years by almost every European people except the Irish. Land is bought, plans are laid and sometimes the prairie broken up before the main body of immigrants leave Germany, England or Norway."[1] An editorial in the Baltimore *Catholic Mirror*, May 6, 1876, gives expression to the same thought: "Of the Irish immigrants who have come to the United States since 1840 about 60 per cent. of the male adults were agriculturists in Ireland—farmers or labourers. The great majority of them have settled in the cities as day labourers or in some other menial employment. The present condition of this class, according to Irish-American newspapers, is one of great wretchedness; and if we are to credit said newspapers, the prisons and poorhouses of the northern and eastern states have too large a proportion of their inmates included from this population. Can nothing be done to influence the industrious and sober portion of them to seek homesteads in the country where they at all events will have enough to eat and

[1] Irish Immigration. Where to Found Irish Settlements in America. *Donohue's Magazine*, 1880. Vol. III., p. 527-528.

where their children will grow up independent farmers? The 'Do-Nothing' policy has existed long enough." About a year later Bishop Hogan of Kansas City stated: "We have suffered our Irish immigrants to drift solitary and isolated into the byways. These young people should have been kept in families with their parents and settled in neighbourhoods and communities of their own. We have suffered them to become hirelings, to die in damp kitchens and cellars."[1] Addressing himself to the same subject, and in the same issue of the *Catholic Mirror*, Dean Byrne of Trenton said: "There is hardly a thinking mind which does not perceive how great a mistake our Irish people made by crowding into large American cities. They have lost by it virtue, wealth and stability; it is an irreparable evil."

Thirty years before, an Irish leader who had been prominent in the '48 movement in Ireland, raised his voice against the concentration of the Irish in the slums of American cities. "It was a strange accident that a people who in Ireland hungered and thirsted for land, when they reached New York, in which a day's wages would have purchased an acre of wild land in fee, wilfully concurred to sink into the condition of a miserable tenantry to whose squalor even European seaports could hardly present a parallel. Never in the history of the world had a purely agricultural population so suddenly and unpreparedly been converted into mere town labourers."[2] Mr. McGee dreamt of a back-to-the-land movement as the best means of saving the Irish in America. "Seventy-five per cent. of the Irish immigrants to the United States remained in the Cities, while in Canada the ratio was reversed. Seventy-five per cent. of the Irish in Canada belonged to the settled, well-ordered country class."[3] Why could not the same conditions

[1] *Catholic Mirror*, April 7, 1877.
[2] *Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee.* Isabel Skelton, pp. 259-260.
[3] *Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, p. 260.

prevail in the United States as in Canada. McGee painted most alluring pictures of Irish settlements in the United States, with churches and schools as the centre of their lives. In securing settlers for his model communities, he proposed to appeal especially to persons of means. His settlements, scattered throughout the United States, would enable the Irish to exercise a permanent influence on American life. Several Catholic leaders, both in the United States and in Canada, became interested in Mr. McGee's project. It was proposed that those interested should come together for exchange of ideas and the development of concrete plans. A conference on Irish immigrant aid was called for Buffalo, February 12, 1856. Some eighty Catholic Irishmen, lay and clerical, attended the conference, and on all sides it was regarded as the most important meeting of Irishmen which so far had taken place in America.

The Buffalo Convention had two important objectives: first, to study the land available for settlement by Irish immigrants; secondly, to secure the means necessary to settle the immigrants on the land. For McGee, who was the central figure in the convention, the problem was very simple. He said: "We have the land. There exist the means by which it can be made accessible to the poorest; to apply these means to that end is our object."[1] McGee estimated that in the United States there were one hundred thousand Irish immigrants with means. These men had their savings invested in the banks of the country. On the other hand, there were some two hundred thousand Irish immigrants without means. These would be anxious to settle in a farming community were a way opened for them. McGee felt that the solution was obvious. The men with means should form joint stock companies to take up land in the chosen sections of the United States and Canada. The poor men would settle the land and would be given five, seven or ten years to repay the money advanced to them.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 272.

In this movement to get the Irish on the land in America, McGee encountered many difficulties. The leader of the movement was more of an inspirational leader than a practical organiser. The Irish immigrants were not over-enthusiastic about land. For two hundred years land had been closely associated with their oppression. Cromwell originally deprived them of their land and turned it over to his followers. As a tenant the Irish farmer had no incentive to improve his land or get the best out of it. Every improvement that he made was taxed away. D'Arcy McGee, like others, assumed as the guiding principle of his work that the Irish were an agricultural people. For centuries the Irish at home had lived off the land. Why, therefore, should the Irish in America take to city life so readily! This point of view overlooks a fundamental fact in the character of the Irish immigration. In 1841 there were in Ireland 310,436 farms from one to five acres, representing 44·9 of the total number of farms in the country. In 1851 the number of farms under five acres had fallen to 88,083, or 15·5 per cent. of the farms of the country.[1] It may be assumed that every one of the 222,353 farms of less than five acres abandoned between 1841 and 1851 represented an immigrant family. These families did not live off their land. In fact, they gave very little time to the cultivation of the land, satisfying themselves with a few patches for potatoes and other vegetables. Any income they received came from their work as agricultural labourers. To the small tenants from the rural districts of Ireland, who should really be classed as agricultural labourers, should be added the town labourers who came over in large numbers in the forties and fifties. These facts should certainly disabuse one of the idea that the Irish immigrants were a purely agricultural people. They explain why it was that they did not take so readily to the land in this country.

Settlement on land in America called for financial

[1] *Modern Ireland and her Agrarian Problem.* Dr. Moritz J. Bonn, p. 46.

resources such as the Irish did not have. Most of the Irish immigrants of the forties and fifties were a poor people fleeing from persecution and oppression. When they landed in New York, New Orleans, or Montreal, they were practically penniless and were glad to avail themselves of the first opportunity of earning a livelihood that presented itself. It might have been possible to have the Catholics of America advance sufficient funds to enable their immigrant brethren to avail themselves of the opportunities of free land. It is very questionable, however, whether the vast majority of the Irish immigrants would have become farmers under any conditions.

In America the Irish were facing a people that were hostile to them. Opposition first reached an acute form in the eastern cities to which they had come in large numbers. The eastern cities were the centres of the "Know-Nothing" Movement in the forties and fifties, which was aimed directly at the Irish immigration. In the cities of the east the Irish immigrant made his first stand for recognition, and it was in these cities that the immigrant first attained any recognized social or political status. Many of the leaders of the Irish immigrants did not look with favour on the movement to place them on the land, because they were afraid that they might lose the influence they had already acquired in the cities. The cities came to be regarded as a sort of rampart that protected the health and life of the immigrants. Removing the Irish from the cities was viewed by many as depriving them of some of the most helpful safeguards of their faith.

McGee's controversy with Archbishop Hughes served very greatly to discredit him as the leader of an Irish Catholic movement. Archbishop Hughes was entirely out of sympathy with the methods of many of the leaders of the Forty-eight Movement in Ireland. He was, therefore, loath to see one of the leaders of this movement placed in a position of leadership among Catholics in America. He had just taken a determined stand on the Young Ireland

Movement in an article in the *Freeman's Journal*, in September, 1848, when McGee appeared in this country to champion its cause. A bitter controversy with a bishop, whom the Irish immigrants had come to regard as their leader and champion, did not help McGee's colonization scheme. The rank and file of Irish Catholic immigrants lost confidence in McGee and his colonization plans.[1]

The programme that McGee advocated for the redemption of the Irish from American slum life could not die. Free land was in the air. Everybody was talking about it. Newspapers and magazine articles, high-powered salesmen for land companies, and official agents of state governments sought the public ear in order to tell of the opportunities of the new west. There was scarcely a family in the eastern industrial centres that did not at one time or other think of the possibility of settling in some middle western state. In recent months the writer talked with a member of an original Nebraska colony in regard to the circumstances that were responsible for his going west. The people around the neighbourhood were all talking about the opportunities of the west. Persons from out of town who had already gone west were writing continually to their relatives and friends trying to induce them to come out to "God's Country." "My parents finally caught the fever, and set out one day for Illinois with these other families. For two years we farmed in Illinois, until an opportunity presented itself of securing good free land in Nebraska." McGee's work added further strength to a movement that had already gripped the imagination of the American people. As the people were made acquainted with the opportunities of free land, they planned their own westward movement. Catholic families were attracted to places where other Catholic families had settled. They felt that only in this way would they have an opportunity of practising their religion.

Many of the leaders who were interested in the welfare

[1] *Life of John Hughes.* Rev. H. A. Brann, p. 106.

of the Catholic immigrants were not willing to leave their settlement on the land to accident or individual planning. They were afraid lest the immigrants might drift into sections where they would have no opportunity of practising their faith. They felt that for the Irish particularly it was necessary, by reason of their tendency towards the cities, to have an organized movement to get them out on the land. It was thought, moreover, that through an organized movement immigrants without funds could be provided with the capital necessary to give them a proper start. The funds, of course, would be advanced on a strictly business basis, to be repaid over a period of years. Large numbers of Catholics who came to the United States before the Revolution or in the early days of the Republic lost their faith because they drifted into places where there was no church or priest. Living in a Protestant atmosphere, without an opportunity of attending Mass or receiving the Sacraments, their faith was gradually undermined. In contrast with what had happened to Catholics who were thus deprived of the opportunity of practising their faith, those who were concerned about the welfare of the Catholic immigrants had before them the example of the Catholic settlements in Maryland and Kentucky. These two settlements, in which Catholics remained together, were the bone and sinew of the Catholic Church in America. Many of the pioneer leaders that fashioned the Church in America were products of Maryland and Kentucky. The settlements in these two states stood out in the Catholic mind as an example of what Catholic settlements should be. If the new immigrants could only be banded together as were the pioneer Catholic settlers in Maryland and Kentucky, there was nothing to fear for their religious welfare. If they were permitted to drift, they might be lost forever to the faith. This was the thought of D'Arcy McGee, but through his zeal and enthusiasm he gave it a new colour and a new appeal.

The settlement established by Father Gallitzen at

Mount Loretto, Pa., aided very materially in emphasising the possibilities of Catholic colonization. Father Gallitzen was a Russian nobleman and a convert to the Church who decided to dedicate his fortune and his life to the spiritual welfare of American Catholics. During his visit to the Alleghenies in 1876 he conceived the idea of forming a Catholic settlement. With his own means he purchased land adjoining the four hundred acres that had been donated to the Church. He turned over the land to settlers at a very low price and on easy terms. He established at his own expense sawmills, grist mills, tanneries, and other industries for the benefit of the people. This colony of Mount Loretto really became the cradle of Catholicity in western Pennsylvania. Father Gallitzen's field of missionary activity included the entire territory of the present dioceses of Pittsburgh and Erie and a large part of the diocese of Harrisburg. In his efforts to develop his colony at Loretto Father Gallitzen mortgaged a large part of his own fortune. When the Russian government disinherited him for becoming a Catholic and a priest, he was reduced to serious financial straits and was compelled to appeal to the charitable public for assistance in meeting his financial obligations.[1]

The Irish Immigrant Society organized in New York in 1841 did much to call the attention of the immigrants to the opportunities of American land. The organizers of the Society assumed that one of its principal functions was to turn the attention of the immigrants from the city to the country. An article in the New York *Freeman's Journal*, written about the time the Society was established, says: "The misfortune, the privations, the utter degradation to which multitudes of those who remain here are reduced from ignorance of the true advantages which the country presents to the labouring, sober and industrious immigrant, are evils that call still more strongly upon the benevolent exertions of the philan-

[1] *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. VI., p. 367-369.

thropic. The way of gaining a competency, if not all the comforts, is in the interior of the country. And yet in the city streets we find squalid poverty and wretchedness, if not vice, in underground hovels. Who can see this and know the remedy and not feel it his sacred duty to use his knowledge for the relief of sufferers January 16, 1841." In view of the general conditions of the time this attitude is easy to understand. Industrial conditions in the eastern cities were rather chaotic. The free land of the west provided a universal panacea. When the industrial conditions in the cities became more stabilized and when the Irish began to find the doors of opportunity open to them in the cities, there was no longer that universal clamour for their transfer to the farms.

The first organized colonies that trace their origin to the agitation during the forties and fifties to place the Irish on the land were those organized by Father Tracy in Nebraska and by General Shields in Minnesota. It must not be assumed, however, that these colonies represent the total net result of the movement. Large numbers of families went west on their own initiative. In many instances individuals assumed positions of leadership in inducing families to settle on the land. In some cases they bought land that they sold to the settlers. The organized settlements did, however, exercise a wide influence in attracting people to their vicinities. Catholic families took it for granted that, if they acquired land near an existing Catholic settlement, they would have an opportunity of practising their religion.

Father Tracy, a priest of the Diocese of Dubuque, conceived the idea of organizing a Catholic colony in Nebraska in 1853. In his efforts to recruit members for his colony he encountered considerable opposition from Catholic leaders in eastern cities and particularly from Archbishop Hughes of New York. One of the surviving members of Father Tracy's colony informed the writer that he had heard the priest himself tell how he had been

ordered out of New York by Archbishop Hughes. But Father Tracy was not discouraged. He was working under the leadership and inspiration of Bishop Loras of Dubuque, who was intensely interested in securing Catholic colonists for the middle west. In the early part of 1855 Father Tracy secured land for his colony in Dakota county in north-eastern Nebraska. In the spring of the following year he assembled his prospective colonists at Dubuque, Iowa. Every family had sufficient food to last for two years and all equipment necessary for the cultivation of the virgin prairie. On June 1, 1856, the prospective colonists, having received the blessing of Bishop Loras, set out from Garryowen, near Dubuque, on their long trail to Nebraska. Nearly every family had its own covered wagon in which it carried its food supply, its household utensils, and its farm implements. A number of the families had cows, sheep and chickens. Two men, who with their wives joined the colonists just before they reached the Des Moines River, did not have any covered wagon. One of these was taken on to drive the cattle and the other to drive the sheep. The journey from Dubuque to Sioux City, which can now be completed in ten hours, then required a full six weeks. In the country they traversed there were no bridges and very few roads. It was like tracing a path through the wilderness. When the party reached the Des Moines River they found it at high-water mark. Fording was out of the question. There seemed, therefore, to be no alternative except to wait until the waters receded. Father Tracy, however, was determined to get across immediately. With the aid of some of the more enterprising spirits of the party he decided to use the body of one of the covered wagons as a flat boat. This enabled the colonists to get over the river without delay and bring all their provisions.

When the colonists reached their destination in Nebraska, just twelve miles from Sioux City, they found one log cabin, a second log cabin in course of construction

and a dugout on one of the hillsides. These were the only evidences of the handiwork of the white man. Miles and miles of prairie stretched out before them peopled by roving Indians. In this bleak prairie they would have to struggle against the Indian and the frequently unpropitious elements. There were, however, many redeeming features. They had sufficient food to last for two years, and the soil was very rich. The settlers had to build from the ground up. They had to build their log cabins and prepare the ground for the planting of their crops. The first season was the most trying—probably the most trying in the history of the colony. As the crops were ready for the harvest, swarms of locusts came along and consumed everything within sight. Their first year's work was therefore gone for naught. During the succeeding years they had better luck. Their food supply was ample; but there were very few ways of making money in the colony. The only goods that had any market value were such as could be freighted down the Missouri River.

When Father Tracy established his colony, Nebraska land had not yet been surveyed. The small groups that had settled here and there along the Missouri River had merely acquired squatter rights. No settler knew how far his farm extended. Only by agreement with neighbours could there be any determination of property rights. Every member of Father Tracy's colony originally laid claim to 350 acres of land. By the terms of the Homestead Act of 1862 each settler's share was reduced to 160 acres, or a quarter section.

The headquarters of Father Tracy's original settlement was known as Old St. John's. It was located on the west bank of the Missouri River, but because of recent changes in the course of the river the settlement was compelled to move its headquarters. When it changed its headquarters, it also changed its name. When the settlement first changed its headquarters, it substituted the name Franklin for St. John's. Later it adopted the name

of the first Bishop of Nebraska, Bishop O'Gorman. More recently the settlement changed its name to Jackson.

The most striking evidence of the success of the Nebraska pioneer settlement was the extent to which the settlers persevered. During the first ten years only two families left the settlement. These were attracted by the discovery of gold in Colorado. The success of the Jackson settlement was due more than anything else to the leadership of Father Tracy. He worked with the pioneers in breaking the virgin prairie. He was with them in all their difficulties. He selected his settlers very carefully. He was particularly fortunate in the land that he secured for them. His understanding of conditions in the New West enabled him to give them the best advice in cultivating the soil.[1]

General Shields was another pioneer who exercised a marked influence on Catholic colonization in the west. On leaving the Senate in 1855 General Shields went to Minnesota to select some lands that had been awarded him for his war service. He was so favourably impressed with the state that he decided to go east and organize a large colony of Irish Americans to settle on the fertile land of Rice and Le Sueur counties. Like Father Tracy, General Shields encountered very vigorous opposition in the east, and especially from Archbishop Hughes of New York. Under stress of opposition he saw the picture he had drawn of Catholic colonization gradually fade. While General Shields was far from having attained his ideals, he secured some very concrete results. The fruits of his labours as a colonizer are the townships of Shieldsville, Erin, Kilkenny and Montgomery in Rice and Le Sueur counties, Minnesota, where reside hundreds of industrious and wealthy farmers.[2]

[1] The material in regard to Father Tracy's colony was supplied to the writer by a member of the original group that travelled with Father Tracy from Garryowen, Iowa, to Old St. John's—Mrs. John Boler, 913 South 36th Street, Omaha, Nebr.

[2] General Shields' Work for Catholic Colonization in Minnesota. Minnesota Historical Society Collections. Vol. xv., p. 711.

The close of the Civil War marked the beginning of a new era of industrial expansion in the United States. Through the building of the transcontinental railroads the fertile lands between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains were connected with the industrial centres of the nation. The settler on the virgin prairie was now provided with a ready and profitable market for his goods. He no longer depended on the covered wagon to reach his destination. It was possible for him to secure good land at a nominal price within easy reach of the railroad. The opportunities offered by American Western land were now greater than ever before. Under the Homestead Act of 1863 it was possible for each settler to secure a title to 160 acres of land at a nominal charge of $15. The prospective settler might purchase land along the railroads from $2 to $11 an acre with eleven years to pay. Catholic leaders, therefore, felt that the time had arrived to make a new effort to bring the Irish immigrants back to the land. The most important and concrete step in this direction was the organization of the Minnesota Irish Immigration Society in 1866. In explaining its purposes the Society referred to the "tendency of the Germans and Norwegians emigrating to the U.S. to hasten to the North-west to build up homesteads and labour for themselves. The Irish crowded into large cities or flocked around public works to toil for others, the wealth of their labour giving neither to themselves nor their children, but to the profit of shady speculators in whose eyes they were merely Irish."[1] The preamble to the constitution of the Society states: "In its infancy it cannot expect to be able to do more than afford information, advice and protection to the emigrant."

The Minnesota Irish Immigration Society paved the way for the work of one whose name was to become synonymous with Catholic colonization in America—

[1] New York: *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Directory*. Vol. XXV, July 30, 1864.

Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul. From the beginning, Archbishop Ireland had given his hearty support to the work of the Minnesota Immigration Society. He believed, however, that a more definite plan of organization was needed in order to open the way to the immigrant. The Catholic colony promoted by a Catholic organization was his ideal. In 1875 he purchased from the Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad 70,000 acres of land in Nobles County in the south-western part of Minnesota, 197 miles west of St. Paul. In January 1876 he secured, from the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, twelve townships of railroad land (each township was six miles square) on the main line of the road in Swift County, Minn. By the purchase of depreciated bonds of the Railroad, which were exchangeable for land at their full par value, the Archbishop found that he could place good land at the disposal of the settlers for $1.75 to $3.00 an acre.[1]

It was Archbishop Ireland's plan to organize his colonies on a strictly business basis. For this purpose he organized in 1876 the Catholic Colonization Bureau of St. Paul as distinct from the Minnesota Irish Immigration Society, of which he had been President. Settlers were given ten years to pay for their land. All prospective settlers were advised that they would need a capital fund of at least $400. (*Freeman's Journal*, April 29, 1876.)

Archbishop Ireland's colonies immediately made a strong appeal throughout the country. In the spring of 1876 eighty families settled in Swift County. By the spring of 1878 about four hundred Catholic families had settled in the county. All the land owned by the colonization society was quickly taken up. Large numbers of Catholic families who were unable to buy railroad land in Swift County acquired land in the adjoining county of Stevens. The nationality of the colonizers of Swift County may be classed from the names they gave the various towns in the county—Avoca, Clontarf, Croke, Graceville.

[1] An Invitation to Land. Reasons and Figures. Published by the Catholic Colonization Bureau of St. Paul, Minnesota Pioneer Press, 1877.

While Archbishop Ireland was organizing his Minnesota colonies, a number of Catholic colonization projects were being developed in other sections of the country. The Irish Catholic Benevolent Association of St. Louis organized a colonization society in 1877. The Irish Catholic Benevolent Association of Philadelphia organized a colonization society the same year. The St. Louis society bought a tract of land in Pottawatomie County, Kansas, and the Philadelphia Society acquired land in Charlotte County, Va. In 1873 General John O'Neil established a Catholic settlement at O'Neil, Nebraska. In 1877 Thomas Hynes established a Catholic settlement at O'Connor, Nebraska. With the aid of Archbishop Ireland, Bishops O'Connor and Spalding, this colony was more fully developed, and the nearby colonies of Greeley and Spalding were established.

Among those who were influenced by the success of Archbishop Ireland's endeavours there is one to whom special reference should be made, Mr. John Sweetman, a wealthy landowner of County Meath, Ireland. Mr. Sweetman was one of those who regarded American land as a cure-all for the ills of the poverty-stricken Irish farmer. In 1880 he arrived in St. Paul and explained to Archbishop Ireland his desire to purchase in Minnesota land and turn it over to Irish settlers on easy terms. The Archbishop encouraged him in his project, but advised him to secure first-hand knowledge of existing Catholic colonies. After studying the situation he acquired from the Minnesota and St. Paul Railroad 18,000 acres of land at Curries in Murray County, Minnesota. In May, 1881, his first colonists arrived from Ireland. They were absolutely penniless. Mr. Sweetman was not only compelled to sell them land on easy terms, but also to provide them with all the equipmemt necessary for farming. After two years of bitter experience this high-minded philanthropist learned that unless a man has his own money invested in land the difficulties of pioneer life prove too great for

him. He is inclined to use the proceeds of his first harvest on land for which he has paid nothing to go to the city and work for wages.[1]

Archbishop Ireland was deeply conscious of the fact that Catholic colonization could not be organized effectively on a local or state basis. While his Catholic Colonization Bureau at St. Paul has done very good work, much more could be done if the work was organized on a national basis. In order to secure this national basis a national conference was called by St. Patrick's Society, Chicago, March 17, 1879. The objects of the conference were :—

1. To counsel together as to the best and most efficient means to provide and encourage immigration to land of and in localities where the blessings of religion and the advantages of education among those of the faith and kindred are present.

2. To effect organization under suitable auspices of a central Bureau in each of the chief countries where the necessary information to immigrants and colonists will be furnished. This Bureau will guide and assist in getting the immigrant to his destination.

3. To form, if possible, a national association to systematize and direct our countrymen through information, and through resources to make it practicable to bring within the reach of the poorer classes an opportunity to become land-owners and cultivators of land.[2]

In the Chicago meeting Archbishop Ireland was able to lay the basis of a national program for Catholic colonization. In that meeting he had associated with him two other outstanding Bishops, Spalding of Peoria and O'Connor of Omaha, and a prominent Catholic layman who henceforth was to take a position of leadership in the movement. At the Chicago conference a committee was appointed to reduce its discussions to a concrete program. This committee met a few weeks later and organized the Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States. Among the members of the Board of

[1] The Sweetman Irish Colony. Alice E. Smith, Minnesota Historical Collections, Vol. ix, p. 331.

[2] *Freeman's Journal* (New York), Feb. 22, 1879.

Directors who signed their names to a statement outlining the functions of the Association were: Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore, Archbishop Williams of Boston, Bishop Ryan of Buffalo, Bishop O'Connor of Omaha, Bishop Spalding of Peoria, Mr. John Lawler of Prairie Du Chien, and W. J. Onahan of Chicago.

The Irish Catholic Colonization Association was a joint stock company incorporated under the laws of Illinois. It proposed to take up colonization on a systematic basis. It would purchase land and sell it to prospective colonists. If those who desired land were unable to pay cash, they might buy the land on credit and have their payments extended over a number of years. Through its long term payments the Association expected to help those who desired to settle on land but did not have sufficient means. There was no thought of encouraging those who were absolutely destitute to go out on the land. It was thought every prospective settler who moved west with his family should have $600 or $700. It was an almost universal experience that the settler who was provided with everything and did not have any stock in the land was a failure.

In 1879 Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Spalding made a tour of the eastern cities for the purpose of arousing interest in the colonization movement. In the same year Archbishop Ireland, through his agent in Liverpool, Father Nugent, succeeded in transferring three hundred persons from one of the poorest districts in Ireland to Big Stone County, Minnesota.[1]

One of the by-products of the Irish Catholic Association was the establishment of an Immigrant Bureau for help and guidance at Castle Garden, New York. The leaders of the colonization movement were convinced that even at this late date the Catholic immigrant aid was not properly organised. In describing the situation

[1] Irish American Colonies. *Catholic World.* Vol. xxxii, p. 346, Dec., 1880.

Mr. Onahan stated that "many Irish organisations on the seaboard are good on parade but not beneficial actually. The zeal of the managers and workers at Castle Garden is very fine, but they have too much work on their hands and are likewise hampered by lack of resources. The work of the Immigrant Aid Society should begin where the work and functions of the Castle Garden authorities terminate."[1] It was a well-known fact that many of the abuses about which there had been complaint for thirty years still continued. Our immigrants were frequently charged more than first-class fare from New York to Chicago and given the worst possible accommodation. As a result of the recommendations of the colonization association, Cardinal McCloskey appointed Rev. J. J. Riordan to take charge of the newly organised immigrant bureau at Castle Garden in October, 1883.

Archbishop Ireland's work in Catholic colonization will always be regarded as one of the finest contributions that has ever been made to immigrant welfare and the building of the Catholic Church in the United States. The work undoubtedly had its weak points and its failures. As one moves around the middle west he hears many pathetic tales in regard to colonists who had no experience in farming and who were ill-prepared for the hardships of the pioneer's life. Some of the colonists had come from small towns in Ireland and had no knowledge of farming. Even for those who had had experience of farming in Ireland the breaking of the virgin prairie was a new experience. The methods of cultivating Minnesota and Nebraska land were far different from those that had proved successful in Ireland. In view of the many difficulties that he faced in developing his colonies, the work of Archbishop Ireland and his associates as a whole must be regarded as a striking success.

JOHN O'GRADY.

[1] *Freeman's Journal* (New York). Vol. xliii, De. 9, 1882.

SAINT AUGUSTINE AND THE STATE 430–1930

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AS the fifteenth centenary of St. Augustine's death falls in this year, it is inevitable that his character and work should be the subject of much comment. We should, however, be mistaken if we regarded the interest taken in him as ephemeral and artificial, his centenary giving the chance and the excuse, as so many centenaries do, of parading before a careless world a forgotten celebrity or an outworn scholarship. St. Augustine during the past fifteen hundred years has always been an active force. Catholic priests read extracts from his homilies almost daily; the schoolmen and their predecessors quoted him largely and esteemed his opinion above all others; the Jansenists, claiming him as their progenitor, set Europe by the ears through their interpretation of his writings; and to-day, on account of the admitted importance of positive or patristic theology, St. Augustine is more diligently and critically studied than ever before, perhaps, in the history of the Christian church. His anniversary, therefore, has provided not merely the pompous occasion for enthusiastic panegyrics, but a stimulus to genuine research into his mind and influence.

Indeed, everybody familiar with the trend of modern theological thought is aware of St. Augustine's importance in our times: in theology, as the champion of the Catholic dogmas of grace against the Pelagian heresy; in philosophy, as the thinker who attempted a synthesis between Platonism and Christian belief. Many arguments which he advanced in support of his views are still to be found in manuals which print them without any acknowledgment—so firmly have they been established as the com-

mon property of Catholic writers. His Platonism, modified and enriched by a generous infusion of Aristotle, has been since St. Thomas's day the official philosophy of the Catholic Church. Catholic theologians and philosophers have never been able, since Augustine's death, to ignore his views if they wished to round off their work in the way their readers expected of them. The current number of "Gregorianum," the Quarterly published by the Professors of the Gregorian University, illustrates this truism. The entire issue is devoted to St. Augustine, and the writers of the articles are professors in various disciplines; yet each finds in St. Augustine's works ample scope for critical comment in his own special subject.

Few men exert the influence St. Augustine exerts so many centuries after death. He touched on nearly every problem which vexes the mind; and, like Goldsmith, he touched nothing he did not adorn. Succeeding generations have approved his solutions in the main—if not at once and irrevocably, at least after lengthy discussion. He moved in perilous places—he faced difficulties squarely—and he gave clear judgments; and few men can boast a firmer authority in profound matters. Once in a while someone or other has gone out of his way to disparage St. Augustine, but nobody who has read his works or, indeed, has a slight first-hand knowledge of his writings. Gibbon, for instance, in an unscrupulous passage unmistakably inspired by Voltaire, speaks of St. Augustine's "superficial learning," and remarks that "the rigid system of Christianity which he framed or restored, has been entertained with public applause and secret reluctance by the Latin Church." [1]

In order to measure St. Augustine's present influence, I propose to examine a few vital points in his political theory. The reader may thus trace his moulding in "the rigid system of Christianity" evolved by "the Latin Church." This task has been rendered possible and easy

[1] *Decline and Fall*, ch. 33.

by the writings of M. Roland-Gosselin and by the erudite work entitled *La Doctrine politique de Saint Augustin*, published in 1927 by M. Gustave Combès.

At the outset, St. Augustine places the State in direct dependence upon God, deriving its authority immediately from a divine source of justice and power. The State, therefore, is not omnipotent, nor may it order its citizens nor curtail their liberties by arbitrary counsels of expediency. It must, in all its enactments, take cognisance of a higher law which exists as a transcendent code beyond the changing conditions of the world. In itself this law is the command of an irrevocable Will determining free creatures to certain choices in accord with evident truths detected by reason. What is out of harmony with the decrees of divine wisdom can never attach our allegiance. Thus right reason, searching out the objective relations between conduct and the nature of the responsible agent, is the criterion of just political action, and not sentiment, nor any other subjective measure. The State, therefore, is not absolute ; it is not the fount of all rights ; it is not the origin of all liberties. Its action is open to criticism ; and, if its ordinances contradict the laws of God, its citizens must refuse to obey them. In setting up a transcendent reality, independent of human caprice, as the standard of all justice, St. Augustine adopts a theory similar to Plato's ; but the supremacy of the divine law as explained by St. Augustine, and not so clearly by Plato, is due to its being the expression of a personal will superior to creatures. By this teaching, which the Christian Church has adopted, a most effective bar has been put to tyranny. Kings and parliaments may not now order the world as they please. They are themselves subjects of a higher power.

Moreover, since authority descends directly and immediately from God upon the civil community in virtue of its juridic nature, it follows that the natural state is is not a theocracy. The State has full jurisdiction within

its own province—a conclusion which proved to be of capital importance in the bitter disputes between the Popes and the Emperors concerning the rights of investiture, during the Middle Ages.

Arguing from these premises, St. Augustine draws certain inferences, many quite obvious, a few surprising. It is easy, for example, to follow him when he permits war as a defensive measure, or as a means of redressing wrongs, provided it be conducted mercifully and lead to a more secure peace; since it does not, of itself, rebuke the divine mercy, its excesses being attributable to human failings. And his argument is cogent when he points out that, since all human law is imperfect, the task of the human legislator becomes lighter if the citizens respect the divine law. We must, moreover, pay our taxes, because the state may make such demands upon us for the common good. The duty of patriotism follows by an easy illation from his political principles; for after God our country and its laws have the first call upon our devotion. And patriotism for the Christians in Augustine's time was not such an obvious duty. Roman patriotism had been built upon the cult of ancestral traditions, the *mos majorum*. Christianity denied the ancient moral grounds which constituted the central assent of Roman citizens, and seemed, thereby, to undermine the whole political fabric. The Christians, moreover, did not merely ridicule the old traditions; they feared and hated them, for they had been slaughtered in the name of these traditions. Lactantius speaks vehemently against the worship of ancient worthies: "We need take no more thought of our ancestors than children grown to manhood take of their nurses." "At the foundation of Rome," says Minutius Felix, "you find nothing but brigands, and all the Romans have is nothing else than booty won by their insolence and courage." And Tertullian's irony did not spare Roman memories: "Aeneas is a coward, Romulus a murderer; the capital is a rendez-

vous of devils, and Laurentia a courtesan." Augustine, on the other hand, more gentle in temper and more conservative, perhaps, by nature, does not condemn the entire past. He admires much in it, and pays handsome tribute to the virtues which made Rome great. He strove, while remaining loyal, to purge the pagan State of its errors and to broaden the basis of Roman justice. He was convinced that this was possible; that it was the duty of all citizens to work for this reform and to stake all on the effective defence of the Empire against its barbarian invaders, rather than desert it in its hour of need because of past grievances.

These conclusions and many others, first drawn clearly by St. Augustine, have become part and parcel of our Christian heritage. Occasionally, however, he draws conclusions which Catholic philosophers have not accepted. They have not, for instance, assented to the opinion, which Augustine never retracted, that capital punishment is an infringement of the moral law, an undue exercise of authority on the part of the civil government, since God alone is the Lord of life and death. But even here, in what we must consider a mistake, Augustine's influence has been profound, because the arguments with which he supported his views have formed the Church's mind in regard to the penalties which may lawfully be inflicted upon heretics. And his ruling has become an axiom in theology and Canon Law—*Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine.*

In spite of his loyalty to the Empire, St. Augustine examined judiciously the question of revolt. To refuse obedience for conscience sake to a power which wields heavy sanctions, is an act of heroism, not a sin of insubordination. That much followed clearly from the general concept of law. But there was the further question—How far may this resistance go? The traditional Christian reply to tyranny was passive resistance. In the beginning, their helplessness made any other course impracticable. By the third century, however, their

numbers had grown. Were they now permitted to repel with the sword evils inflicted on them by the sword? Some looked favourably upon the proposal. "A few torches," said Tertullian bluntly, "would be amply sufficient to avenge our wrongs in one night." But this view was regarded as feasible only in the abstract. In the concrete, the most passionate and outspoken of the Christian apologists always counselled humble submission, even in the most trying circumstances. And in the *De Civitate Dei*, St. Augustine defends this advice. Why should they change their methods in the hour of victory? In this way they had triumphed when all the odds were against them; a defence which had prevailed against the injustice of an entire code was not likely to fail against the fragmentary injustice of particular articles. However, in the treatise *De Libero Arbitrio*, St. Augustine admits that violent action is lawful if vital interests of the State are in the balance and it is the only means of defending them. Nevertheless, while admitting the right, he is very reluctant to recommend its exercise. He thought peace and justice went hand in hand, that they were correlatives, and that violence even in the cause of justice was likely to issue in deeper injustice. Peace, he considered, almost peace at any price, was in the long run the best guarantee of equity, provided the Christians could hold out obstinately in their sufferings. His conclusion here is interesting, but not so interesting and significant, perhaps, as his method of arriving at it. As rationalist as Plato, he appears always to have been uneasy about assents given on motives perfectly plain and certain to reason, until he found support for them in the Scriptures. Thus all through his inquiry into the lawfulness of direct action against the tyranny of the State, he searches through the Scriptures for the final proof of his contentions. Later Christian writers are not so fastidious; they put more trust in reason; nevertheless they, like Augustine, are opposed to the rationalism which excludes

the supernatural from scientific inquiry. Faith and reason have the same object, truth; the way by which the truth is acquired is different. St. Augustine then, by training and inclination as rationalist as Plato (on whom he drew largely), acknowledged at the same time a higher fount of truth than the natural reason; and this attitude, at once rationalist and fideist, has been through the centuries the characteristic attitude of Christian thinkers, in politics as well as in every other branch of human speculation.

Historical fact, as well as the philosophical argument from the general principles of Being, pointed clearly to the divine origin of authority. The ancient state regarded its laws as sacrosanct and unchangeable, because a divinity had given them to the people. The legislative bodies within the community could extend these laws by giving them a fuller or a more precise interpretation, but they could not alter their content. Since, therefore, every act of the State bore a religious complexion and all its laws were a sacred formula, the State recognised the duty of worshipping, by acts which were exclusively religious, that supreme power from which its authority came. Priests, therefore, were public officials. The philosophers may have sneered at religion, throwing ridicule upon the supposed divine origin of civil law, but they never could and never did regard religion as an exclusively private matter. And St. Augustine was fond of appealing to Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero in proof of this.

By the time of Christ, however, the Emperors had been divinised, assuming to themselves a power to initiate laws and establish rights which rulers in the West, at least, had not previously claimed. They confiscated, as it were, an immemorial tradition and centred it in their own proper persons. They were God's vice-gerents. St. Augustine and the Christian Apologists resisted this usurpation as an insult to the divine supremacy, and contended that an historical fact had, some few centuries previously, curtailed the jurisdiction of civil authority.

They found quite evidently in the Gospels that Christ had set up a new jurisdiction, committing to His Church the universal government of men in religious and moral matters. Christianity, therefore, was not only a mode of life, but an organised society with distinct government, laws, institutions, privileges, and a defined field of action over which it possessed a full and final jurisdiction. Christ had divided authority in the government of the world, and the martyrs had died for liberty of conscience and the independence of the spiritual power. By the time St. Augustine came to discuss the relation between Church and State, the Edict of Milan had recognised the claims of the Church and granted freedom of worship.

The course of events, after the Edict of Constantine, gave rise to an unexpected problem in civil and ecclesiastical relations. Constantine, having granted liberty to the Church, hoped to draw profit from the concession by making Christianity the official religion, and thus attaching its influence to his house and throne. The Council of Nicaea marks the culminating point of this policy. Later, however, Constantine, growing jealous of the Church's power, endeavoured to rule her himself. His son, Constantius, inheriting his father's fears, did all he could to reduce the Church to servitude—a policy that was very insidious, because there seemed to be so much to be said in favour of yielding to it, and no clear precedents before the young Church of the abuses to which it might lead.

Julian, however, saved the Church by persecuting her. What peaceful absorption might have largely effected, persecution definitely prevented. When Julian tore up the Edict of Milan, he saved the Church much trouble that was brewing for her. All sects were alarmed; and even the Arians, whom no argument could heretofore disabuse, turned to the orthodox Church for protection in the common peril. After Julian's death, Valentinian restored the alliance between Church and State, and recognised explicitly the Church's independence. "I am a layman,"

he said to the Bishop of Heraclea; "I have no wish curiously to examine dogmas. That is the business of prelates."

The Church, on her side, thoroughly frightened by recent occurrences, asked for guarantees. Some Bishops demanded a direct control in civil affairs, on the plea that the Church could not be secure otherwise. They looked for more still—for substantial pledges to safeguard not merely her independence, but her complete preeminence over the State in every department of government. St. Ambrose expressed these imperious demands and supported them with the weight of his authority. The young Emperors Gratian and Valentinian acquiesced, for they needed the Church's aid; and even Theodosius begged her to defend his throne. In point of fact, though this new standing seemed to promise well for the Church's future well-being, it was more dangerous to her than persecution. St. Augustine, forced to examine into the whole state of affairs, thought out, in his gentle wisdom, a set of principles which have guided the Christian Church ever since in her disputes with the civil power. His views have been quoted by those who demanded too much from the State; he has been misinterpreted; but he has been regarded by all parties as the highest authority. And in the event, the moderate and sensible view, which is really his, has become crystallised as part and parcel of the Church's polity.

St. Augustine held that the two powers, ecclesiastical and civil, differed in characteristics and in jurisdiction. They should not meddle inconsiderately in each other's affairs. Just as the State should respect the authority of the Church in her own domain, so the Church should respect the prerogatives of the State in its province. It was the State's business to promote temporal prosperity and to foster peace by wise laws and adequate sanctions; and the Church herself would be the first and chief beneficiary of public order. During this troubled earthly pil-

grimage the Heavenly City finds it easier to secure its own high ends when peace reigns in the hearts of men (*De Civ. Dei, xix.* 17). The two jurisdictions, each entirely competent, cannot ignore each other, for they meet in the consciences of the citizens, who are, at one and the same time, subjects of both. The Church and State should work amicably together, and harmonise their laws. Augustine held so strongly to this independence and interdependence that he refused whenever he could to accept civil offices, though he was pressed to do so for urgent reasons. When he did reluctantly undertake them, he complained of the loss of time and of the incongruous duties thrust upon him as a Christian Bishop. On the other hand, he seldom missed an opportunity of interceding for criminals, or of urging that the law should be administered with clemency. He instructed the magistrates upon their duties and procedure, pointing out in particular that judicial torture was an outrage on human dignity. Beyond this he never interfered, maintaining that the State had received directly from God authority sufficient for its purpose.

At the same time, St. Augustine agrees with St. Ambrose in granting to the Church the primacy of jurisdiction, but he limits this primacy to the moral and excludes it from the political sphere. The State must submit to the Church's judgment on moral right and wrong, and must respect the Canon Law which the Church makes for her own better administration. The Church, for her part, must obey the just laws of the State and instruct her children to obey them. Thus with wonderful wisdom and foresight, St. Augustine threw into a compact form and rounded off the sharp angles of the Ambrosian demand. Gregory the Great, St. Thomas, Bossuet, and in our own day, Leo XIII have repeated, almost in the same words, the teaching of the Bishop of Hippo.

After St. Augustine's decisive treatment of the subject, there was complete accord for many centuries about the

independence and sovereignty of the State within its own domain. Pope Felix III., Pope Gelasius I., Alcuin, and Pope Nicholas I. all held the Augustan view. Then came the disastrous quarrel over investiture. Theologians and canonists took sides, and partisan feeling ran high. It is very noticeable all through the doctrinal dispute which arose out of the political conflict between the Popes and Emperors, how strong Augustine's influence was. Both parties referred to him as an incontestable authority, and tried to fit his thought to their opinions. St. Bernard, for example, sent a sharp remonstrance, full of the Augustan spirit, to Pope Eugenius III on his too frequent intervention in civil affairs. "Why do you invade another province?" he wrote. "Why do you thrust your sickle into another man's field? You may be quite capable of managing business of this kind, but it is unworthy of you to act thus, seeing that you have higher interests to attend to." Thus, too, St. Thomas (*ii. Sent. xliv, q.* 2. *a.* 2), Henry of Bracton, the great English jurist, John of Paris, and many others, when the quarrel had come to a head between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair of France, argued against Aegidius Romanus and James of Viterbo, in the strong and sensible Augustan tradition, that the two powers were clearly distinct. Finally, the Council of Trent and Leo XIII. in the encyclical *Immortale Dei* formally approved and adopted St. Augustine's view.

However, the further question was asked: Granting the powers to be distinct, does one hold an effective primacy over the other, even in the field assigned to it, in the sense that one authority, the Church's, has priority, in right and in fact, over the State in civil matters? This was a disturbing question. St. Augustine had taught in many of his works that rulers were subject to the Church, just as other Christians were, and that precisely as rulers they should obey, respect, promote and defend the moral law and the Catholic religion. If they refused

to do so, St. Augustine had no ecclesiastical sanctions to punish or restrain them. Theologians and canonists did not pursue the matter any further till the eleventh century. They were satisfied with the restrained judgment of St. Augustine. Gregory VII. then startled public opinion by excommunicating Henry IV. on the ground that he had contumaciously refused to obey the Pope's orders; and excommunication meant deposition. "Si reges pro peccatis sunt judicandi, a quo rectius quam a Romano Pontifice judicari debent?" Gregory, in plain terms, forced his will upon the Emperor by political and ecclesiastical sanctions.

Had he the right to do so? Again the theologians took sides, and the controversy waxed fiercer than ever. It turned, in the main, upon the interpretation of certain texts in the Old and New Testament, the defenders of the Papal claims insisting much upon the "Compelle intrare" of the Banquet Parable (Luc. xiv., 23), and upon the reference to the two swords (Luc. xxii., 38). St. Bernard, though he had admonished the Pope for his preoccupation with temporal affairs, admitted his right to depose. Hugo of St. Victor and John of Salisbury were much more downright. In their opinion, the Church, which possessed the fullness of authority in both the spiritual and the temporal order, delegated its jurisdiction to secular princes for the purposes of civil government. The State's authority, then, was derived from the Church, to whom Christ had conceded the two swords. "Primum a Deo sacerdotium institutum est, postea vero, per sacerdotium, jubente Deo, regalis potestas ordinata." (1) Boniface VIII. extended this doctrine to its widest possible limits, and made it the guiding principle of his policy. The Church had at last turned the tables on the State by claiming a complete mastery not only over the conscience but over the management of secular business as well. Hostiensis in 1271 wrote coldly, as if the question

[1] Hugo of St. Victor. *De Sacram.* II. Pars. C. 4.

were beyond dispute: "Quamvis jurisdictiones sint distinctae (quoad executionem), tamen Imperator ab Ecclesia Romana imperium tenet, et potest dici officialis ejus seu vicarius." [1] And by a curious method of interpretation, by introducing a convenient distinction into a general statement, Aegidius Romanus and other supporters of extravagant Papal claims pressed St. Augustine into their service.

Fortunately, all during this anxious period, many theologians held the traditional opinion which St. Augustine's authority had so largely formed, that the two powers derived their jurisdictions immediately from God, the Church having, in virtue of her nature and ends, a certain preeminence. It was her duty to protect the liberty of conscience against the invasion of the State; and the State was bound to accept her rulings in moral questions. John of Paris in his *Tractatus de Potestate Regia et Papali* flatly denied the Temporal Power of the Pope, ridiculed the allegorical arguments from Scripture, regarded the Donation of Constantine as invalid, if not fictitious, and asserted roundly that the Pope had no more power to depose the King than the King had to depose the Pope. He is as violent on the Imperial side as Hugo of St. Victor is on the Papal. St. Thomas, however, more than anyone else, brought the controversy to a close. He thought of the State as "the natural expression and embodiment of the moral as well as the physical characteristics of human nature." [2]. Though his conclusions are at times ambiguous and at times difficult to reconcile, Carlyle's judgment of him seems to us to be correct. "It seems to us that he clearly and fully recognised the Hildebrandine claim that the Pope had authority to excommunicate and depose the secular ruler, at least when he departed from the faith, but that, while in the one passage which

[1] *Summa Aurea.* IV. 17.

[2] Carlyle. *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West.* Vol. V., pp. 13, 14.

we have just considered [from the *Quaestiones Quodlibetales, xii.* a 19, where St. Thomas speaks of Kings as 'vassals of the Church'] he claims for the Pope the supreme power both in temporal and spiritual matters, his treatment of the subject both in the *Summa Theologica* and in the *De Regimine Principum* suggests that his normal and mature judgment was that the Pope had an indirect rather than a direct authority in temporal matters." [1] Finally, the Council of Trent[2] took the moderate view, the thought and phrasing of its decree reminding us forcibly of Augustine's letter to Macedonius. Thus, after centuries of conflict, St. Augustine finally triumphed over St. Ambrose.

If Church and State were independent in the sense that each should manage its own affairs while collaborating for the common good, what were the relations between the State and its subjects when religious issues were involved? The question came urgently before St. Augustine in connection with the Donatist heresy. The State, in his opinion should be organically Christian. What attitude, then, should it adopt towards those who obstinately refused to accept the Church's decisions in faith and morals? The Donatists, all during his lifetime, were in open revolt to these decisions, and vexed his own diocese of Hippo with their unruly disobedience. He had no great difficulty in allowing the State to punish their crimes, provided it stopped short of the death penalty. But ought the State to permit liberty of conscience? Had it the right and the duty to enforce by fines and exile the return of the heretics to the fold? His reading did not furnish him with any instance of religious toleration. He had himself asked the civil government to exert itself in defence of the Faith and of morality, asking it to repress the licence of the theatre, the chief propagator of what Varro called "a fabulous theology." He had complained that the laws against magic, terribly severe though they

[1] Ibid. pp. 353, 354. [2] Sess. xxv. De Reform. Ch. xx.

were in print, were in point of fact often ineffective. Was not the crime of heresy greater than the crime of witchcraft ?

Through some humane instinct, by an illative sense whose conclusions he found, perhaps, hard to justify in formal logic, he disapproved of persecuting pagans and Donatists for their religious tenets, though he waged constant polemical warfare upon them. In his personal dealings with them he was gracious and persuasive, never invoking against them the harsh articles of the Theodosian code. These laws were a dead-letter; and, as his letters to Maximus, Dioscorus and Volusianus show, he did not want to set them in motion. The fair aspect of truth had converted him, and he believed that the truth would prevail if one could get one's opponents to consider it calmly and sympathetically. And this noble conviction appears to have been the ground of his reluctance to enforce unity in religious belief.

The Donatists, however, refused his advances. Their armed bands, called Circumcelliones, filled Northern Africa with rapine and ruin. His plan for a plenary Synod of both episcopates broke down, because at the last moment the Donatist Bishops refused to attend. In 404, the Council of Carthage records sadly the failure of Augustine's policy and the insolent reaction to it on the part of the heretics. The majority of the Bishops argued in favour of petitioning the Emperor for severe penalties against heresy, St. Augustine and a minority dissenting. In the end the milder view prevailed; and the Council sent delegates to Honorius at Ravenna to ask that the Theodosian Laws be applied, but only where the Circumcelliones were active. Before the conciliar representatives reached the court, Honorius, who had heard of Donatist turbulence, had published a decree of union. It laid upon all Donatists without exception the duty of submitting to the Catholic Church under pain of severe penalties. The Council was jubilant at receiving more

than it had asked for, and ordered the Bishops of Africa to write to the provincial governors urging them to carry out the Emperor's commands.

St. Augustine obeyed, and wrote advising moderation. Forced conversions, he thought, were not always nor often sincere. But when he saw that the new policy was succeeding, that Donatists were abjuring their errors, that, on the confiscation of their Churches, they embraced the true religion *en masse*, he began to doubt his tolerance. Fear, he realised, may exert a powerful pull upon the mind to turn it from error to recognise the truth. However, he did not allow pure reason to rush him into hasty action. Fear only started the movement towards conversion. That had to be brought about by instruction and free consent.

Finally, after many ups and downs, Honorius decided in 410 to suppress the schism by force. St. Augustine was tired of it all. He gradually turned away from polemics, and adopted more and more the role of the catechist and theologian. The law, he concluded, could drag these people to the altar, but the grace of Christ would have to complete the work. Still, the law seemed to have a part to play in the process; and, in that event, the very principle of that law must be embedded in the Gospel. He found it at length in the Parable of the Banquet. His mind was henceforth at peace. The charge of persecution, which the Donatists levelled against the Church, troubled him no more, since he could justify it not merely on philosophical or political grounds, but on the clear teaching of Holy Writ. In a couple of letters, and in the two books *Contra Gaudentium*, the Donatist Bishop of Timgad, he developed with great zest his argument from the "Compelle intrare" of the Gospel. Thus, under the pressure of circumstances, he passed, after much uncertainty and vacillation, from permitting complete liberty of conscience, to defending political coercion. But he defended it reluctantly, regarding it as

a last resource when all the methods of persuasion had failed.

His mystical interpretation of the Banquet Parable served as a charter for heresy-hunters for centuries. He was cited as an authority by people who advocated all sorts of violent repression for all sorts of crimes. "The right of the sword," said Rufin, "empowers princes to execute great criminals and, in consequence, heretics." The State, it appeared, ought to impose the death-penalty for magic, disobedience to the Papal Decretals, and usury—this last crime being peculiar to Jews, who were doomed on a double indictment. To extend the list thus was a serious distortion of St. Augustine's mind; and it is impossible to cite him in favour of the death-penalty, which he always abhorred. The Church, however, has preserved his spirit, and done her best to mitigate harsh enactments of the law. "Fides suadenda est, non imponenda," St. Bernard said; and the Church, mindful of her saving mission, has been careful to distinguish between abstract rights and practical methods of government.

St. Augustine, then, has had a large share in forming the maternal mind of the Church, just as his set conclusions have shaped her dogmas and her official teaching. His political theories, as well as his theological solutions, have stood the corroding test of time, because his sweetness and gentleness of temper restrained his intellect from harsh inferences, and gave to his findings, in the things of God and man, the quiet and kind firmness of wisdom. He worked, heart and mind, for peace, for the tranquillity of order, bringing his "reverence for the eternal order of the world, which is the first feeling of Hellenic and Platonic piety," into the service of the Christian dispensation. And that is the decisive reason why he has been such a power in the world.

J. E. Canavan.

LEON TROTSKY [1]

BY FRANCIS MCCULLAGH

THE revolutionists who have failed, like Theobald Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet and John Mitchel, are sometimes more sympathetic figures than the revolutionists who have succeeded, like Mirabeau, Fouché, Talleyrand, and Lenin; for as revolutions often begin with enthusiasm and end in calculation, so revolutionists who fall early in the fight are sure of never reaching the calculation stage.

Leon Trotsky, whose real name is Bronstein, occupies like Danton a place in both categories; for after having succeeded marvellously, he was overthrown by a rival in his own camp. The strange apathy which led to the fall of Danton was probably due principally to a failure in his health, and the somewhat mysterious illness from which Trotsky suffered in 1923 and 1924, partly accounted for *his* fall. Both Danton and Trotsky were uncommonly energetic and eloquent; both were of great service to the revolution in their respective countries; both identified themselves with the organization of the new armies which resisted invaders and *émigrés* at the front, and both were finally snared and beaten by less prominent enemies who were cleverer at intrigue than themselves. But while Danton went to the guillotine, Trotsky went to Prinkapo, and, as he is still only fifty years of age, his history may not be finished yet.

Danton probably believed as little in revealed religion as Trotsky does. He was a man of wide culture, who had had a university education and spoke at least one foreign language; and he was not a professional politician to start with, for he had early won success as a lawyer.

[1] *My Life.* By Leon Trotsky. London: Thornton Butterworth. 512 pages 30s. net.

Trotsky is a man of extensive reading, but of irregular education. Owing to the difficulties placed in the way of Jewish students by the Tzarist Government, he entered a German *realschule* in Odessa when otherwise he might have entered a *gymnasium* and have had a classical education; but perhaps he would have been expelled from the *gymnasium* as he was expelled from the *realschule*. At an early age he was drawn into the revolutionary maelstrom from which few Russian students born towards the end of the nineteenth century succeeded in escaping, and the record of his wanderings, a modern Ishmael, to and fro on the face of the earth, constitutes one of the most fascinating volumes that has been published for many a day.

Many people regard Trotsky as one of those international polyglots who, driven out of one country or one language, promptly take refuge in another country and in another language, one of those children of the ghetto who are as much at home in Bucharest as in the Bowery, but as a matter of fact Trotsky only knows one language perfectly, and that is not Yiddish, but Russian. He was born in a Russian village, being the son of a rare combination—a farmer who was also a Jew. He confesses that his "linguistic talents are very mediocre," and adds: "Even now I do not know a single foreign language well, although I stayed for some time in various European countries." Here he is too modest, for I remember that at a meeting of the Communist International which took place in Moscow when I was there last, he delivered a long speech in fluent French.

Danton was first and foremost a Frenchman, whereas Trotsky is an internationalist who only meant to use Russia as a stepping-stone to world revolution. Had he been born a Jew in England, he might have come by this time to regard himself as a "Briton," but the unfairness with which the Jews were treated in Tzarist Russia tended to make them internationalists. The Bolshevist

revolution was not a Jewish revolution, though many people think so, but the revolutionaries naturally found their best allies in the persecuted and embittered Hebrews of Russia. Never, after this, can any great Power afford the luxury of persecuting a minority as the Irish Catholic was persecuted in his own country during the eighteenth century, as the Jew was persecuted in Russia during the nineteenth century; for such minorities tend infallibly to ally themselves with the revolutionary forces that are now lurking in every State, and to bring with them a violence of hatred and a carelessness of consequences which your cold, theoretical revolutionist sometimes lacks. Earl Balfour used to deplore the addiction of the mere Irish to murder, but I think that England was lucky in having the Irish to oppress and not the Odessa Jews, whose priests never condemned oath-bound secret societies. No rabbi ever thought worse of a co-religionist who, in imitation of Samson, brought down death on himself as well as on his enemies; and had Irish priests taken a similar view in '98 and at various other periods of crisis in Anglo-Irish relations, many English battleships and arsenals might have gone sky-high.

For reasons that I shall set forth presently, Trotsky was overwhelmed with abuse and calumny by the Governments, the Press, and the Propaganda systems of England and France, so much so that in 1919 it would be positively dangerous to assert in any British periodical that Trotsky was a loving father, a faithful husband, and a most abstemious and industrious worker, though such was indeed a fact. He had nothing to do with the Red Terror, which was exclusively the affair of Dzerzhinsky, a Catholic Pole who had lost his faith and who, in the last year of his life, supported Stalin. The character of Trotsky is, therefore, less besmirched than that of Danton, whose guilt in the terrible September Massacres is only too clear.

To make a final reference to Danton, that great leader was misled by Rousseau, Voltaire, the French encyclo-

paedists, and the English deists, and Trotsky has been equally misled by the romances of Tolstoy and the political theories of Marx and Engels. Danton believed that man was born perfect, or at least that he was capable of rapid perfectibility by the removal of all checks upon his natural freedom; while Trotsky believes just as firmly in the essential goodness of a single class, and though he has left Russia, he has not left Communism.

His book covers a vast field—childhood, early life and education, prison experiences, Siberian exile, expulsion from various countries (always at the instigation of the Tzarist police), work as a war-correspondent in the Balkans, journalism of a very obscure kind in New York, and then into the full glare of the limelight that never ceased to beat on him till February, 1929.

I should like to write copiously about my personal relations with this extraordinary man, were it not for the fact that till he became a world-figure I made no effort to cultivate him, though chance threw us close together on many occasions. This lack of foresight I share, however, with all the newspaper correspondents who specialized in Russia from 1905 onwards, and with the editors of those newspapermen. During the abortive revolution of 1905 (which Trotsky describes very well as "the dress rehearsal for the revolution of 1917"), both Trotsky and Lenin were in St. Petersburg (as it then was); but neither myself nor any of my journalistic colleagues interviewed them or even mentioned their names, and had we done so, our references to them would not have been published, for London and New York were convinced that Lenin and Trotsky did not matter, and that the only personages worthy of attention were Miliukov, Lvov, Kovalevsky, and the other Liberal leaders, all of them now dead or in obscurity. Besides, Lenin and Trotsky changed their names and their appearance so frequently and took so many other precautions against arrest, that to interview them was about as difficult as to interview a *leprecaun*.

The next chance I had of seeing Trotsky was during the Balkan war of 1912. I was, it is true, with the Turks and Trotsky with the Bulgars, but as I was captured by the Bulgars during the Turkish retreat to Tchataldja, we were for a time on the same side. At the Bulgarian headquarters, however, I soon discovered that the great journalistic gun was a Professor Pilenko, who represented the wealthy and powerful *Novoe Vremya*, and who is at present one of the editors of *Le Matin* in Paris, while Trotsky was merely one of an undistinguished group of small correspondents representing obscure papers which did not pay and were not sure when they would flicker out. He represented, as a matter of fact, the *Kievskaya Mysl* (the "Kiev Thought"), and his attitude on war was hardly that of an Aloysius McGahan or an Archibald Forbes. In fact he had a real hatred of war, a hatred which led him to view with horror the march of the young Bulgarians into battle.

> I watched, as if it were a phantom, a regiment going to war —the eighteenth infantry regiment, in uniforms of protective colouring and bark sandals, and wearing a sprig of green in their caps. The sandals on their feet and the little sprig of green in their caps, in combination with the full fighting outfit, gave the soldiers the look of men doomed for sacrifice. At that moment nothing so burned the madness of war into my consciousness as those sprigs and bark sandals. . . . A sense of the tragedy of history, which words cannot suggest, was taking possession of me ; a feeling of impotence before fate, a burning compassion for the human locust.

These are his own words, and they represent a point of view which has gained many adherents for the Bolsheviks among those who have suffered by the Great War, but this should not blind us, of course, to the fact that the Communists want the abolition of war only in order to clear the stage for a world-wide social conflict in comparison with which the Great War would only seem a trifling affair of outposts. Nor should we forget, in our admiration for Trotsky's enthusiasm, that his theories

are fundamentally unsound. His own experiences in Russia should have taught him that the erection of a perfect Government on the lines he indicated is impossible: he admits himself that the Kremlin is now ruled by crafty and insincere nonentities who are no better than the Trepovs and the Stolypins of the Tzars. Even if we look at the matter from the most materialistic point of view, we must conclude that the present system of Government in Russia is built on wrong economic lines and must eventually fall if it be not modified in time.

In February 1920 I was in the Siberian town of Ekaterinburg (where the Czar and his family were murdered) while Trotsky was carrying on there a raging, tearing propaganda from one of the most extraordinary trains that ever ran on rails. From being a tenth-rate war-correspondent who did not believe in war, he had now blossomed out into something like a war-god who launched ukases right and left, had one colonel shot and another condemned to life-long imprisonment, dissolved communes that were not supplying enough fuel to the railway, and even (*mirabile dictu*) defied the doctors of the hospital on a medical question. His full title was "War Commissar" and "Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council," and as I, on the other hand, was really a prisoner-of-war, whose sole anxiety was to get out of Russia as unostentatiously and expeditiously as possible by way of Finland or Esthonia, I refrained from calling on my erstwhile colleague of Kirk Kilisse, lest perhaps his greeting should be "Off with his head!" or words to that effect.

The melancholy pacifist of the Balkans had certainly seemed to reach the summit of military glory. The British Consulate had been turned into a Trotsky Club, and the shield above the entrance, where once the lion ramped, was occupied—oh, sacrilege!—by a portrait of Trotsky himself. But, though I was far from thinking so at the time, that splendour contained within it the seeds of decay; for while the "War Commissar" was

rushing backwards and forwards from Europe to Asia and from Asia to Europe, working at full pressure and probably developing by over-work the mysterious illness which was to prostrate him at the very moment of his duel with Stalin, that astute Georgian was plotting patiently and skilfully behind his back.

Trotsky's constant absence at the front covered him with glory, but cut him off from daily personal contact with the other Bolshevist leaders, and accentuated his tendency towards autocracy and individualism. As one might expect of a man with such a brilliant intellect, he had always been very individualistic, ready to command, but unable to obey or to work in unison with others. This accounts for the fact that, till the October Revolution, he had never really been a member of the Communist party, but had always been hovering somewhere between the Mensheviks, whom he wanted to bring more to the left, and the Bolsheviks, whom he wanted to bring more to the right. At one time he had even dared to question the infallibility of Marx, and just before the outbreak of the Great War he had quarrelled bitterly with Lenin, who had, in turn, denounced his "bourgeois ideology." Trotsky's defect, says Lenin in his famous "Will," "is his excess of self-confidence." In the same document Stalin is described as "rude, disloyal, and capable of abusing the power that he derives from the Party apparatus. He should be removed to avoid a split."

Stalin, whom I saw in Moscow, struck me as a stolid young man, slow, dull, and inclined to be lazy, but with a powerful will which enabled him to be industrious. At one Communist Congress in Moscow I heard him read a report on "the small nationalities"—which, by the way, he then represented—and I do not think that ever in all my previous life had I listened to anything so soporific. Trotsky might well smile at the desperate efforts of the Presidium to keep awake, but as a matter of fact it was a soporific person who was wanted at that stage: it may

be glorious to hitch one's wagon to a star, but after six years' experience of such a stormy star as Lenin, the average Bolshevik was inclined to prefer a plain, unromantic cart-horse. This may look like persiflage, but it is hard fact, and is very well set forth by Trotsky himself in Chapter XLI, which I would advise the reader to study carefully.

To return, however, to Trotsky's train at Ekaterinburg. Originally intended for the Czar, it had been turned into a perambulating newspaper office, from which a fiery gazette was issued, and it was also a sort of military G.H.Q. and a revolutionary tribunal.

The history of this train would make a book in itself, but all the data relating to it are locked up in the Bolshevik War Office. Trotsky had travelled in it to Petrograd when Yudenich attacked that town as well as to the southern front when Denikin was threatening Tula. During these trips he had shown great personal courage and even military skill, and it is probable that without him Petrograd would have fallen. But as the great ally of the French Revolution was the *émigré*, so the great ally of the Russian Revolution was the hopeless and demoralized "White" Russian, who, without any backbone himself, blamed England for all his failures. Trotsky understood that, thanks to Mr. Winston Churchill, England was the mainstay of the Whites, and he said so in an army order which he issued at this time to announce the sinking, by the British Admiral Cowan, of two Bolshevist torpedo-boats, with a loss of 550 young seamen. "Red warriors!" said Trotsky, "on all fronts you meet the hostile plots of the English. The counter-revolutionary troops shoot you with English guns. In the depots of Shenkursk and Onega, on the southern and western fronts, you find supplies of English manufacture. The prisoners you have captured are dressed in uniforms made in England. The women and children of Archangel and Astrakhan are maimed and killed by English airmen

with the aid of English explosives. English ships bomb our shores."

English help was nullified, however, by the dishonesty and incompetence of the old Tzarist gang. To give one instance out of ten thousand :—A shipful of warm clothing for the White soldiers on the Petrograd front reached Reval during the Yudenich campaign, and was turned over by English naval officials to Yudenich's commissariat. Within twenty-four hours all the contents of that ship were on sale in the shops of Reval ! The commissariat officials made enough to enable them to retire comfortably, but the poor deluded soldiers at the front died of cold. Meanwhile a " White " Generalissimo was arrested by the Esthonian police, at the instance of his own adjutant, while trying to disappear with a bagful of English gold intended for the " White " army. Incidents like these helped Trotsky, who was unsparing of himself and lived like a Spartan.

In person Trotsky is small and slight. His face is familiar from photographs, but it is necessary to see him in order to appreciate his superabundant energy, his tirelessness, his alertness, and his courtesy. In 1917 he declared, when accused of receiving huge bribes from Germany, that he never possessed £200 in his life ; and this, I think, is true. He could have made more by journalism, especially if he had flattered the Slavophiles and did homage to the Tzar like most of the successful Russian journalists, but he devoted himself mostly to Socialist papers which could seldom pay him anything for his contributions, with the result that his wife soon learned the road to the pawnshop. Such men are naturally regarded with grave suspicion by the great financial, industrial and political magnates of the world.

Trotsky, as we have just seen, is not pro-English, and we can hardly blame him. When the Russian revolution broke out, he wanted to return to Petrograd, and got a passport from the Russian consul in New York ; but at

Halifax English bluejackets carried him bodily off the steamer in which he was travelling, and deposited him in a concentration camp, where he was treated with gross indignity. When he asked the camp commandant why the British authorities had prevented him from going to Russia, whose consular representative in America had given him permission to return, that functionary answered with a logic worthy of a British " dug-out " in wartime : " You are dangerous to the present Russian government."

We now know from Sir George Buchanan's memoirs that M. Miliukov, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, played a double game in this matter. To Buchanan he expressed the hope that Trotsky's stay in Halifax should be prolonged, but owing to the clamour raised by the Petrograd Soviet, he had to ask the British to let Trotsky continue his journey. But at the same time Sir George Buchanan tried, no doubt at Miliukov's suggestion, to spike Trotsky's guns by officially announcing that he and the Russians arrested with him had been travelling " under a subsidy from the German embassy, to overthrow the Provisional Russian Government."

" To overthrow the Provisional Russian Government " was certainly the object at this time of both Lenin and Trotsky, but the latter proves conclusively that neither he nor Lenin was a paid agent of the Kaiser, and he badly mauls Kerensky who, in a book of reminiscences issued two years ago, stated categorically that they were. Lenin, who was in Switzerland in October, 1917, accepted the permission given him by Ludendorff to travel to Russia through Germany in a sealed waggon, but not until he knew that if he attempted to travel through England, he would be promptly sent to a concentration camp.

The accusation thus made by the British Ambassador was used with tremendous effect by the British Propaganda service as well as by Kerensky and his friends, and it was not their fault if it failed to end in Lenin and Trotsky being murdered by indignant Russian soldiers.

" Why," it may be asked, " did the British interfere to such an extent in the affairs of another country ? "

The answer to that question is easy. The British and French did not foresee the Red Terror and the religious persecution which Bolshevism would bring ; all they saw was that if Russia fell under the rule of Lenin and Trotsky it would conclude peace, with the result that half-a million German soldiers would be transferred to the Western Front. Consequently the representatives of the Allies in Russia did their utmost to discredit the two leaders of the Reds. After telling some of the methods they employed, Trotsky says, not without some reason : " Never before did people lie as much as they did during the ' great war for liberty.' If lies could explode, our planet would have been blown to dust long before the treaty of Versailles."

The result of the allied onslaught on Trotsky and Lenin is still to be found in many quiet English homes, and even perhaps in some Irish homes, where it is firmly believed that Trotsky indulged in nightly orgies in the Kremlin and that Lenin was a Jew. An American Intelligence Officer even produced receipts showing that colossal sums had been paid on several occasions by the German Government to the two Bolshevist leaders, and reproductions of these receipts were subsequently scattered all over the world, though the originals were certainly forgeries.

In the present book Trotsky has his revenge on the people who thus maligned him. Very often he finds it in their own writings. He quotes, for example, from Sir George Buchanan's memoirs a doleful passage about the sufferings of the rich people who entertained him sumptuously in the Crimea two years before the revolution and presented him on one occasion with " a dozen bottles of old Burgundy, whose praises I had sung while drinking it at lunch." Sir George had nothing to say of the terrible sufferings which the soldiers and the common people of

Russia underwent just at the time he was enjoying that " old Burgundy " ; and this gives Trotsky an opportunity to remark that " the October revolution was not in vain. Not in vain did it sweep away not only the Romanoffs but the Buchanans and Kerenskys as well."

But alas ! Lyev Davydovich ! it left Stalin and the crowd of sycophants who at present occupy the Kremlin. The Proletarian Government of your dreams will never be built up in this world. Your theories, like those of Condorcet and Diderot, are based on the false assumption that there is no such thing as Original Sin.

The strong point of Lenin and Trotsky, in their contest not only with Kerensky but with the ambassadors of the Allies, was that ninety-nine per cent. of the Russian people were against the war, wanted it to stop, and had never understood what it was about. Among the Russian soldiers it was particularly unpopular because of the scarcity of arms and ammunition, a scarcity which led to attacks being sometimes made on the well-armed Germans by Russian units, in which not more than half the men had rifles. The result was a wholesale butchery of the Russians ; and by insisting that this butchery should continue, the Allies made themselves unpopular among the masses in Russia. One Bolshevist orator explained the peculiar ferocity of the French on this subject by saying that, like true bourgeois, they wanted their money's worth of *muzhik* blood, that having lent gold to the Russian Tzars, France wanted it to be repaid—in the blood of the Russian peasant !

On the other hand, the French will contend that they were right in keeping up the Russian throne till Armageddon had been fought, and that they had reason for being irritated with the Russia which left the war in 1918 and thus exposed them to a defeat at the hands of Germany. It is well for Irishmen to consider all sides of this question, though Trotsky, a true fanatic, can only see his own side.

To the student of *post bellum* Europe this work is indispensable, whether he be statesman, author or journalist, whether he be for the Bolsheviks or against them. With the publication of this volume, there will no longer be any excuse for the extraordinarily inaccurate stories that used to be told about Lenin and Trotsky, even by Cabinet ministers and by the editors of great newspapers. The only defects I can see in it is that it is too hastily written and covers too much ground. Trotsky is evidently one of those men who can only work at full pressure, and even in the lazy Sea of Marmora he cannot take his time and write slowly. To do justice to the amazing story he has to tell would require as many volumes as there are chapters in this book: even the beautiful account of his school days would gain enormously if reinforced by a picture of Odessa at the beginning of the present century, for the average Irish reader can form no conception of that strange Jewish town, seething with revolution, where so many of the most desperate Bolsheviks were born. One short sketch may indicate its possibilities. A friend of mine, Mr. Maurice Baring, while visiting it in 1905, went up to a policeman to ask directions. Like many shy people, Mr. Baring has a habit of approaching very close to the person with whom he is speaking; but on this occasion the policeman jumped about three feet into the air and manifested every symptom of extreme perturbation. He afterwards explained that, in Odessa, people who came very close to policemen did so in order to assassinate them!

It is just possible that in this autobiography Trotsky makes himself out to be better than he really is; but in one respect he makes out himself and Lenin to be worse than I ever believed them to be. In the heat of his attack on Stalin he says that he himself was directing "privately and unofficially . . . the anti-religious propaganda, in which Lenin was very much interested," and adds that Lenin "asked me insistently not to let this work out of my

sight!" That a Jew who had deserted his own religion and changed his own typically Jewish name for a typically Christian Russian name, should try to deprive humble Russian Christians of their only consolation in life does not make one think more favourably of "Comrade" Bronstein. Nor does it make one think better of Lenin to be told that, in the terrible interval between his first and second strokes, he should have employed the power of speech which had been restored to him for a few months, in a violent effort to prevent a less able and unscrupulous man than Trotsky from being placed in charge of the anti-religious machine.

We should like to hear more on this subject, and especially on the connection of Lenin and Trotsky with the murder of Monsignor Budkiewicz and the condemnation of Archbishop Cieplak. In the book which I wrote myself on that subject I assumed that the high priests of Bolshevism held all religion in too much contempt to trouble about a dozen Polish clergymen, and that it was Krylenko, the Public Procurator, who was entirely responsible for that prosecution; but, judging from what Trotsky says, the whole Politbureau was behind it. As for Lenin, he "was lying in his room in the huge building of the courts of justice. The second stroke was near; it was preceded by a series of lesser shocks." This was at the time of the Cieplak trial; and it would be interesting to know what the dying dictator thought of that trial. He probably knew of it and approved of it, for Trotsky tells us that he was "very much interested" in the anti-religious propaganda, and also that he busied himself with the work of government till the evening he was struck down. But in all probability our curiosity on those points will never be satisfied.

FRANCIS MCCULLAGH.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J. M.A.

XV

ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA

1. Réalta [an] ċruinne Caitiր ғiona · ғóiրeaր Sրéaգaiգ
ғóiրiծ ғoրgla clann gaċ óigiծ · ann aր éagaiծ.

2. Caitiր ғiona inġean [ċarda] · cրaoծ na buaiծe
gnúiր maր bláṫ na haḃla úiրe · aḃra [uaine].

3. Aḃra uaine aġ inġin riogh Sրéag · naր ġaḃ guiծe
a-tá i ndaṫ a gրuaḋ gile · 'r rnuaḋ na ruiḃe.

4. Snuaḋ na ruiḃe ir raṁraḋ sրéine · 'n-a gruaiḋ ċoiրcրa
iomḋa glún ar a ғréiṁ ғeaṫa · 'n-a céiḃ ċoрṫa.

5. Ar ḋeilḃ coррғúl Caitreaċ ғiona · niր ċinn Sրéigḃean
rúil ċoрր naċar ғéaġ ar óigғear · béal ḋonn ḋeirġeal.

6. Gnúiր maր aḃaill uċt maր eala · óġ naր truaillead
niր ġile clúiṁ ná a bar ḃáinġeal · rúil ġlar gruaiḋġeal.

7. Ni ғaġaim óġ ar a gráiḋre · gan a guiḋe
go ríntear bрat ar mo ḃuile · ó Mac Muiրe.

8. Bриġiḋ Éireann agus Alban · óġ na n-oiléan
ir í bláṫ braoinġeal na mḃanóġ · caoiltreaḃ coiléar

9. Aṫraṫa ғóiրear na luiġniġ · lór a ḋéine
ir í an ḃanóġ ḃoinnғionn Ḋúille · coinneall céiրe.

10. Ciaрán caoiṁғionn Colam Cille · caoṁ an ғoiրeann
Páḋraig Maрtain Monġan Manann · Coman Coiреall.

11. An Trionóid móրMuiրe ir Micéal · macraḋ gréine
aoinṁíle ḋéag ḃanóġ mḊúille · glanóġ gléiրe.

Re.

Translation

1. Star of the world, Catherine, helper of the Greeks; she succours most of the races of every province there against death.

2. Catherine curly-haired maid, branch of victory; face as the bloom of fresh apple-tree; bright brow.

3. Bright brow has she, daughter of the King of the Greeks, who never accepted suitor; in the hue of her cheeks is the sheen and colour of the berry.

4. The berry's colour and summer sunshine is in her ruddy cheek; many the curl bending from its stem in her coifed hair.

5. In the shape of Catherine's round eyes no Grecian woman surpassed her; round eye that gazed on no young warrior; lips deep-red and white.

6. Face as apple-blossom; bosom as swan; maid inviolate; down is not whiter than her gleaming white hand; grey eye in fair cheek.

7. No maiden do I see like her in charm but I entreat her; may Mary's Son hide away my folly.

8. Brighid of Éire and Alba, Virgin of the Isles, she is the soft white bloom of virgins, ...

9. Athrachta succour of the Luighnigh; great her zeal; she is the fair-footed virgin of the Búill; waxen candle.

10. Bright gentle Ciarán, Colum Cille—gentle the company!—Pádraig, Martain, Mongan, Manann, Comann, Coireall.

11. The Trinity, great Mary and Michael, the host of the sun, (and) eleven thousand virgins of the Búill, flower of fair maids.

Notes

MS. 24 P 25, p. 103. All readings departed from are here given. Another copy of the poem is in the unpublished portion of the Dean of Lismore's Book (Quiggin, *Prolegomena*, p. 39).

1 *a* na, an would give a syllable too many. 2 *a* cosda, *d* nuie (ui overlined). 3 *a* uaie (ai overlined), *c* sruaidi. Couplet is a syllable too short; *lege* a-dáid; *d* 's not in MS. 4 *a* suibe a saṁra-, *b* sruaig, *c* as a freim fedcha, *d* copda. 5 *a* corrśuil-. 6 *d* sruaigeal. 7 *c* Trans. doubtful; *lege* óig (og MS.), sruaidse (sroise with n over s, MS.), and baile (*sic* MS.); I never regard her face but I entreat her; may Christ guard my home." For the translation adopted is a sruaidse would be an easier reading. 8 *b* coiléan IGT § 35, seems unsuitable; *lege* coiréal; "peaked house of coral," *cf* "*turris eburnea*"? 9 Aithracha of Cell Sáile in Críoch Conaill; but she is here connected with Luighne, Co. Sligo. 10 Mongan, Martyr Oeng., Sept. 3; Manann, Martyr Don., Feb. 23; Caireall, *ibid*, June 13; several saints named Comman occur in the Martyrologies.

A HIGH-PRIESTESS OF SPIRITUALISM

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

ALTHOUGH Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, by founding a new religion, has probably made a deeper impression on posterity than any other American woman of modern times, still from the point of view of abnormal psychology she had one rival of her own sex whose career is hardly inferior in interest. The curious thing is that, in their external aspects, the lives of these two ladies, who were temperamentally so very dissimilar, had remarkable features in common. Both, though neurotic in their early years, died at the venerable age of eighty-nine. Both were three times married, and both after a last experiment in nuptial bliss enjoyed—if enjoyed is the right word—a widowhood of some thirty years' duration. Both claimed to have visions and to be guided by supernatural influences. Both at one period practised as healers, invoking psychic powers to aid them in their diagnosis and medical treatment. Both after middle age attained to vast wealth, and both, though born in quite humble surroundings, managed to invent for themselves a highly distinguished ancestry. But the most striking point of resemblance was a moral trait. During the second half of their lives these two ladies seem to have succeeded in obliterating the recollection of any and every unwelcome incident which marked their early career. They were contemporaries, but there were never any personal relations between them. In their beliefs and aims, barring certain feminist proclivities, they were at opposite poles. But seeing that for many years they had independently courted and achieved publicity, there was something almost sublime about the audacity with which they set

about repudiating everything in their previous record which they deemed less creditable. If I said in writing of Mrs. Eddy that "in her statements about herself she was untrustworthy to a degree without modern parallel," I am conscious now that this assertion was too sweeping. There was at least one very close parallel, and the parallel is supplied by the history of the lady who in her declining years was known to her English friends as Mrs. Victoria Woodhull Martin.

It was in connection with Spiritualism that I first stumbled upon the name of Mrs. Victoria Woodhull. Anxious to find an explanation of the set-back which the movement (*c.* 1875) sustained in the land of its birth, I spent some time in studying the spiritualist journals of that date. From them I learnt that, apart from several other causes of disturbance, the organization had been seriously shaken by internal dissensions among the members over the question of "free love." This was not merely an opprobrious nickname given by the opponents of such principles. Its advocates accepted it and used it themselves, while protesting, though not very convincingly, that it did not mean promiscuity. The three leading Spiritualist journals in England[1] had no sympathy with the free love movement, but they all referred to it and they all associated with their references the name of Mrs. Victoria Woodhull, mentioning *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* as the principal organ in the States which championed simultaneously spiritualistic and free love teachings. Moreover, this same lady had for three successive years been elected President of the American National Society of Spiritualists. During a visit to America, Mr. J. Morse, an English medium and trance-speaker commended by Sir A. C. Doyle, paid his respects to "the great champion of woman's rights and social freedom." He reported to his friends in England

[1] These were: *The Medium and Daybreak*, *The Spiritualist* and *The Spiritual Magazine*.

that Mrs. Woodhull, "by her womanly grace and most evident earnestness," had impressed him greatly.[1]

Victoria Claflin was born at Homer, a hamlet in the state of Ohio, in 1838. She was the seventh child of a family of ten, and it seems certain that, so far as book learning or moral training were concerned, she, like the rest of her brothers and sisters, was deplorably neglected. "The Claflins," says her biographer, "were gutter-folk in Homer." They lived in squalor and turmoil, "busy with wrangling and praying and scheming and fortune-telling." The father was disreputable. In his fits of passion he lost all self-control and beat his children unmercifully. The mother, Roxana, was a shiftless woman and had the reputation of being far from strait-laced, but at the Methodist revival meetings she was always a prominent figure.

> Roxana Claflin [we are told] would rise from her seat as the general fervour mounted, and with clasped hands and upturned face she would clap her hands together softly. Then, swaying her body to and fro for a moment, she would slide from her place and, spinning round and round like a top, up one aisle and down another, her bonnet held in its place only by its strings around her neck, she would shout "Glory" and "Hallelujah" with every breath until she sank down in front of the altar exhausted in what she and her family called a trance.[2]

Brought up, or rather suffered to run wild, in such surroundings, Victoria and her younger sister Tennessee had immense excuse for their subsequent aberrations. Victoria was married before she was sixteen to a Dr. Woodhull, a man of rather better social station than herself, but careless and dissipated. She had two children by him, the first of whom, owing to an accidental fall in infancy, was always weak-minded. She divorced Dr. Woodhull in 1864, but on the plea that his medical skill

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[1] See *The Spiritualist* newspaper, Ap. 16, 1875.

[2] Emanie Sachs, *The Terrible Siren* (Harper, 1928), p. 10. In this biography of Mrs. Woodhull the scandals connected with her earlier career are discussed with so little reticence that it cannot be recommended without reserves.

was necessary for the care of the afflicted boy, he often dwelt in the same house with her when she was living as the wife of another man, an arrangement which not unnaturally created considerable scandal.

The divorce was followed by a formal marriage with a certain Col. Blood, though she never took his name. She had also several other privileged admirers, one of whom, a married man named Theodore Tilton and reputed a literary genius, printed a short but glowing biography of Victoria in pamphlet form. As Tilton knew nothing of her previously, it must have been from herself or Col. Blood that he received the following account of her second matrimonial venture.

> Col. James H. Blood, Commander of the Sixth Missouri Regiment, who at the close of the [American civil] war was elected city auditor of St. Louis, who became President of the Society of Spiritualists in that place and who had himself been, like Victoria, the legal partner of a morally sundered marriage, called one day on Mrs. Woodhull to consult her as a spiritualistic physician, having never met her before, and was startled to see her pass into a trance, during which she announced, unconsciously to herself, that his future destiny was to be linked with hers in marriage. Thus, to their mutual amazement, but to their subsequent happiness, they were betrothed on the spot by the powers of the air. The legal tie by which at first they bound themselves to each other was afterwards by mutual consent annulled—the necessary forms of Illinois law being complied with to this effect. But the marriage stands on its merits, and is to all who witness its harmony, known to be a sweet and accordant union of congenial minds.[1] Col. Blood is a man of philosophic and reflective cast of mind, an enthusiastic student of the higher lore of Spiritualism, a recluse from society, and an expectant believer in a stupendous destiny for Victoria.

This stupendous destiny had been adumbrated from her earliest years—so at least we are told—by the spirits with whom she maintained intercourse. In particular, an

[1] As this statement, written and printed by the admiring Tilton in 1871, sufficiently conveys, Col. Blood and Victoria, though formally divorced, were then and for some years afterwards living together as man and wife. Violent quarrels and a separation came later, before Victoria's departure for England.

imposing figure in a Greek tunic, subsequently identified with the orator Demosthenes, had assured her that she would emerge from obscurity, live in a splendid mansion, and attain to great wealth in a city crowded with ships; further, that she would edit and publish a newspaper and become the ruler of her country. However the idea had been generated, she seems seriously to have believed this, and I am inclined to think that Tilton in the following passage was faithfully echoing what he had learnt from her own lips :—

> I must now let out a secret. She acquired her studies, performed her work and lived her life by the help, as she believes, of heavenly spirits. From her childhood till now (at thirty-three) . . . . her anticipation of the other world has been more vivid than her realization of this. She has entertained angels and not unawares. These gracious guests have been her constant companions. They abide with her night and day . . . Her enterprises are not the coinage of her own brain but of their divine invention. . . . Every characteristic utterance which she gives to the world is dictated under spirit-influence and most often in a totally unconscious state. The words that fall from her lips are garnered by the swift pen of her husband and published almost verbatim as she gets and gives them.

Before her divorce from Dr. Woodhull, Victoria had been directed by the spirits to set up in Indianapolis as a medium and there to treat patients for the cure of disease. She did not make a permanent home in Indianapolis, but led a roving life with other members of her family. During these years, like Mrs. Eddy, she claimed to have wrought miraculous cures. According to Tilton, "she strengthened the feet of the lame, opened the ears of the deaf and brought to light hidden crimes." The practice was not unremunerative, and before she was directed by the spirits in 1869 to repair to New York she had made $700,000—this at any rate is the incredible figure set down in Tilton's pamphlet.

In New York an entirely original career opened out before her. With her younger sister Tennessee, who like

herself was beautiful in person, possessed of remarkable psychic powers and even less observant of the restraints imposed by convention, she made the acquaintance of "Commodore" Cornelius Vanderbilt. The great millionaire, who had begun life as a ferryman on the Hudson, was now seventy-five years old, worried about his health, credulous as to matters occult and by no means shocked by the free and easy manners of the Claflin sisters. Aided by his advice and probably backed by his capital, they started business as "Lady Brokers" in Wall Street. At the beginning of 1870 the new departure was the sensation of the hour. On January 20 the *New York Herald* made the announcement and commented on the fact as an indication of the progress of feminism. The sisters were referred to as "the Queens of Finance," they were interviewed and given spacious notices in the Press, while on February 28 the *New York Telegraph* published a caricature of Vickie and Tennie, with whip and rein, driving a team of bulls and bears that were harnessed to their chariot. Meanwhile, in association with the notorious freethinker and revolutionary, Stephen Paul Andrews, Mrs. Woodhull threw herself violently into the cause of social freedom and female suffrage. The *New York Herald* printed a letter from her on "the Reform of Social Conditions," and on April 2, 1870, it gave currency to the manifesto in which she announced herself as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. It is plain enough that this bold gesture must have been suggested by her recollection of the predictions of "Demosthenes." As a further step towards the realization of her dream, she issued a few weeks later the first number of *The Woodhull and Claflin Weekly*, a journal which at first confined itself to spiritualism, social abuses and the rights of women, but which in the autumn of the same year began openly to espouse the cause of free love. It must be confessed that a certain section of the feminist party shrank from identifying their claims with a parvenue

whose private life was not free from scandal and whose public pronouncements on such questions as sex and marriage were apt to be extremely advanced. But there was undoubtedly something magnetic about Victoria's oratory. In the interest of the cause the dissidents laid aside their prejudices. Many even of those of the best social standing became her devoted adherents. Amongst the rest Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, the sister of Henry Ward Beecher, the great Congregationalist preacher, and of Mrs. Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, came forward in her behalf and gave her loyal support. The alliance was to be fraught with serious consequences, but the only immediate result of this sinking of differences was that Victoria Woodhull and no other obtained an official hearing in Washington, the first suffragette to enjoy that privilege. In February 1871 she appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives and read a memorial in behalf of votes for women, which seems to have been patiently listened to and to have been commended by sympathisers in the movement. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* had a well-drawn picture of the scene, in which Victoria presenting her memorial is the central figure.

With regard to her oratorical gifts I confess that I am inclined to attach some weight to Tilton's statement that the Memorial just spoken of was "dictated by her Greek guardian." Those who have made any study of automatic writing and trance addresses will be aware how very strangely new personalities seem to come to the surface in the script and utterances of those who possess this peculiar gift. It may only be a development of the sub-consciousness, but it often appears to be something distinct from the normal self. Both Tilton and Benjamin Tucker speak as if the normal self of the Victoria whom they knew could hardly pen the simplest letter. No doubt at a later date she acquired facility in expressing herself on paper, but it is possible that, at New York in

the seventies, much which was attributed to her authorship, whether in speech or writing, was produced without full consciousness on her part. This might in a measure explain her astounding repudiation of these utterances when taxed with them a few years later. Whether Col. Blood can be appealed to as a trustworthy witness is more than doubtful, but he seems to have committed himself to this statement :—

> At about eleven or twelve o'clock at night, two or three times a week, and sometimes without nightly interval, Victoria and I hold parliament with the spirits. . . . Victoria goes into a trance, during which her guardian spirit takes control of her mind, speaking audibly through her lips, propounding various matters for our subsequent investigation and verification.[1]

Be this as it may, it is proved beyond doubt, upon the evidence of newspaper reports, of private correspondence and of testimony given in court, that Mrs. Woodhull during the years 1871-1875 stood committed to the most extreme views regarding the relation of the sexes. At a crowded meeting in the Steinway Hall, New York, on November 20, 1871, someone asked her, " Are you a free lover ? "

> " Yes," she replied, " I am a free lover." (Howls, hoots, hisses, and cheers broke loose, and above it all, Victoria's voice rang like a bell). " I have an inalienable, constitutional and natural right to love whom I may, to love as long or as short a period as I can, to change that love every day if I please ! And with that right neither you nor any law you can frame have any power to interfere."

Such utterances and the principles expounded in Mrs. Woodhull's journal shocked the moral sense of the more respectable portion of the population. Moreover, it seems clear from the biography compiled by Miss Sachs that " the Woodhull," as she was disrespectfully styled even by advocates in the law courts, exercised to the full in her own person the liberty which she claimed. No

[1] *The Terrible Siren*, p. 108.

wonder that a cartoon in *Harper's Weekly* (17 February, 1872) depicted Victoria as Mrs. Satan. She has horns and bats' wings, and a cleft hoof peeps out from beneath her petticoats, while on a placard which she carries and to which she points may be read the inscription: "Be saved by Free Love." Mr. James Burns, the editor of the English spiritualist journal *The Medium and Daybreak*, is not likely to have exaggerated when he wrote of "the filthy correspondence which used to exhibit the practical aspect of free love teachings in Mrs. Woodhull's *Weekly*."

All this, it seems to me, sheds a not uninstructive light upon the tendencies of spirit guidance, especially when we remember that the lady was at the time President of the American National Society of Spiritualists and that she was re-elected to that office after delivering a speech on "the Scarecrows of Sexual Freedom," which the *New York Herald* described as "the most outrageous address ever yet delivered by her." It would serve no good purpose to supply any details of the series of prosecutions and nauseous scandals which marked these years. Mrs. Woodhull was at one time confined in Ludlow gaol, bail being refused, on the charge of sending obscene literature by post, the literature in question being an article which appeared over her signature in the *Weekly* she published. During her incarceration she claimed to have been visited by the spirit form of the Saviour Himself. As she afterwards wrote:—

> I remembered how when they had cast me into prison . . . . in the grated cell, before our iron bed upon that stone floor, my darling sister[1] and my angel mother knelt with me . . . and how as we prayed our cell was lighted up with spirit light and the power of heaven overshadowed us, while a still small voice whispered comfort to our troubled souls, assuring us that help would come.

The help which came took the form of the failure of

[1] This was the vivacious Tennessee. Mrs. Woodhull did not always allude to her or to their mother in quite such complimentary terms

the prosecution owing to a technical flaw in the wording of the Act under which she had been indicted. She was also fortunate enough to gain the sympathies of the jury in the Challis libel case, though the judge who tried it declared that the acquittal at which they arrived "was the most outrageous verdict ever recorded." Finally, it should be mentioned that the Beecher-Tilton scandal, which for many months absorbed the attention of the prurient-minded in every newspaper of the United States, took its rise from the charges made against the famous preacher, Henry Ward Beecher,[1] in an "exposure" which Mrs. Woodhull had previously threatened to publish and which was printed in her journal. As her biographer states, "the day it appeared, newsboys blocked Broad Street for hundreds of feet, the scandal issue was in such demand. By nightfall it sold on the streets for forty dollars a copy."[2] After long delays Dr. Beecher was compelled to take action, and in 1875 the case came into court. The hearing lasted six months. For nine days the jury strove to reach agreement, but finally had to be discharged without arriving at a verdict.

There is no evidence that Mrs. Woodhull, while the trouble was brewing, repudiated anything of what had appeared in her journal, though she was to declare long afterwards that the objectionable matter had been written and printed without her knowledge by "those horrible people" Col. Blood (her husband) and Stephen Paul Andrews. However, the year 1875, which witnessed the abortive result of the Beecher libel-suit, also marked a striking change in the attitude of Mrs. Woodhull. How it came about is not very clear. She may have found that the disclosures of the Beecher-Tilton scandal had

[1] It is noteworthy that in the English edition of the official biography of Henry Ward Beecher, the publishers, seemingly under pressure from the lady herself, have suppressed all references to Mrs. Woodhull; but I understand that they have not been withdrawn from the American edition.

[2] Mrs. Woodhull had previously stated in a public address: "I intend that this article shall burst like a bombshell into the ranks of the moralistic social camp." It did. See *The Terrible Siren*, p. 172.

alienated the more decent among her supporters. It is even conceivable that the psychic inspiration which had animated her rapt discourses was now failing her—for such things often happen with those who possess mediumistic powers. Funds also were probably lacking, and she was used to live expensively. Certain it is, in any case, that *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* came to an end in 1876, and that in 1877 Victoria, now thirty-nine years of age, sailed for England. Though she had entirely given up her free love propaganda, so much so that Mr. Burns of *The Medium* jeered derisively at her conversion and at the abundance of scripture texts with which the latest issues of the *Weekly* were interlarded, she did not slacken in her devotion to the cause either of Spiritualism or of social welfare, which included female suffrage. She must still have possessed influential friends, for in December, 1877, she delivered a lecture at the St. James' Hall, Piccadilly, then the largest building in London available for such purposes. Her subject was " The Human Body, the Temple of God," and she seems at this time, under spirit guidance, to have thrown all her wonted energy into a propaganda of what she termed "stirpiculture," or, as it is now more generally called, eugenics. But her language was decorous, and her biographer states that " there is not the faintest evidence that she ever wandered from the most conventional paths of sexual rectitude after she left America." Among her auditors at St. James' Hall was a Mr. John Biddulph Martin, a partner in Martin's Bank, a wealthy man and a paragon of respectability, who seems to have been immensely struck by her eloquence and her magnetic personality.[1] He made her acquaintance, and in 1883 he married her. It is to his credit that he seems to have made a home for her children, for her incurably flighty sister Tennessee, and even for her disreputable old

[1] Mr. Martin had also taken a good honours degree at Oxford, had been an athlete in his youth, and he was shortly afterwards elected President of the Statistical Society. His portrait shows a man of refined and distinguished appearance, a man whom no one would suspect of the most venial departure from social decorum

father, who died in his house in Queen's Gate. Before the marriage took place, however, Mrs. Woodhull was at considerable pains to repudiate the past. She was still, to some extent, a public character. She gave lectures, and apparently clung tenaciously to the prediction of her spirit guide, Demosthenes, that she was destined to become the ruler of her country. An appeal was drafted and widely circulated in America, in which she was described as "the nominated President of the United States in the next election of 1884." It was further stated that "this call goes out from England, issued by Victoria C. Woodhull, supported by English capitalists." As might have been expected, her peace of mind was from time to time disturbed by newspaper paragraphs, which recalled the unsavoury scandals with which she had been connected, but she met them with unqualified denials. In a letter to the *Court Journal*, she wrote that her name

> had been most unrighteously associated with what is known as Free Love. No viler aspersion was ever uttered. No greater outrage could be inflicted on a woman. No deeper wrong could be done to the innocent. And here, Sir, it behoves me to mention the manner in which my name first got mixed up in connection with a small section of the American community called Free Lovists, for whom, ever since I became acquainted with their principles, I have entertained the profoundest abhorrence. For several years I was the ostensible editor of a New York journal, the main object of which was the elevation of woman, politically, morally and religiously . . . It happened, however, that I could not always read and select the contributions sent me for insertion therein. . . . Articles favouring free love appeared without my knowledge or sanction, which startled the readers of my hitherto spotless print. . . . I now openly avow, with all the earnestness of righteous indignation, that during no part of my life did I favour free love even tacitly.

The letter was dated December 29, 1880. It was sent to the Boston *Globe* and other American papers. B. Tucker, a former intimate of hers, who was editing the *Globe*, printed it with the headline: "As Big a Lie as was ever Told." In other communications the lady

described free love as "a moral leprosy," and stated that "Stephen Paul Andrews, the high priest of debauchery, actually had the audacity and the unblushing effrontery to affix Mrs. Woodhull's signature to his filthy effusions." When the objection was naturally raised that she had never repudiated the articles at the time, she replied that she had acted thus "to shield her husband Col. Blood, who was the responsible editor and who was threatened with lynching by an exasperated public."

After her marriage to John Martin in 1883 there were still occasional references to her former career, but Victoria, backed by her husband, seems to have been almost as ready as Mrs. Eddy to plunge into litigation, or at least to threaten it. The most astonishing case took the form of a libel action brought by Mr. and Mrs. Martin against the Trustees of the British Museum. The publication of the libel consisted only in this, that in the library of that institution a reader had been permitted to obtain communication of two books alleged to contain matter defamatory of the plaintiff.[1] The Trustees, denying knowledge of the libellous contents and pleading that there had been no negligence, refused to make the form of apology demanded, and defended the action. The case accordingly came on in February 1894, before Baron Pollock. Sir Charles Russell, then Attorney-General, who not long afterwards became Lord Chief Justice, appeared for the defendants, while Sir Richard Webster, also a future Lord Chief Justice, represented the plaintiffs. The hearing occupied four days and was reported at length in *The Times*, which also published a leading article on the subject. It was no part of the defendants' case to plead justification, and Sir Charles while cross-examining Mrs. Woodhull at some length, acted wisely in not pressing his questions home. He realised the danger of antagonizing the jury by seeming to bully the fascinating lady in the

[1] These were *The Beecher-Tilton Scandal, a complete History of the Case*, and *The Story of Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore and Mrs. Tilton* by the Editor of the *Anglo-American Times*.

witness box. All the same, a curious history was revealed, and *The Times* leader was mildly satirical in its comments.

> Whatever [it said] be the legal effect of the findings of the jury yesterday, no time should be lost in making another such action as Mrs. Martin's impossible . . . She has been a financier, a publicist and clairvoyante and is an educated doctress. She has acted on the stage, edited a newspaper, delivered lectures and orations, and managed a share and stock business. She has been an advocate of advanced opinions as to the position and rights of her sex. Thrice she has been married, and she has found time with all her manifold public and domestic duties to stand as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.[1]

While under cross-examination, Mrs. Woodhull was asked by Sir Charles Russell whether she had ever given cause for the imputations made against her in the libels complained of. In reply she declared that she had been daily before the American public from 1870 to 1877, and that no charges had been made against her character. Whereupon her biographer comments that at this point "Ananias must have given up the ghost." The real defence to the action was, of course, based upon the impossibility that the officials of the Museum should acquaint themselves with the contents of all the publications which come into their possession. As Sir Charles pointed out, 315,000 items were added to the Library every year. It had been calculated that merely to read through these would require the services of 110 experts learned in the law of libel, even if they gave all their time to it during the twelvemonth. "Fancy," he added, amid much laughter, "110 legal experts let loose in the British Museum to scrutinize the books, and seeking for a needle of libel in a bundle of literary hay."

Owing to some curious inconsistencies in the findings of the jury, the case came up again in the court of appeal, but Mrs. Martin professed to be satisfied with the opportunity she had had of vindicating her character, and was content that the appeal should fail, the Martins paying the costs.

[1] *The Times*, February 28, 1894.

Mr. Martin died in 1897, but his widow lived on for another thirty years, and the tempestuous forenoon of her career may be said to have ended in a golden sunset. She became the lady bountiful of the Worcestershire village in which her beautiful English home was situated. Although her questionable antecedents were well known to Anglo-Americans at the time of her third marriage, and though her story is said to have suggested to Henry James, the novelist, the central idea of his clever sketch entitled *The Siege of London* (1885), she seems in her declining years to have been accepted by county people and to have entertained all the neighbouring gentry. When America came into the War, her house at Bredon's Norton became the centre of all sorts of charitable activities. She was visited and formally thanked by Mr. Page, the American ambassador. The Marquis of Crewe came to see the Manor House, which she had fitted up as a sort of American hostel, and the Earl of Coventry, the Father of the House of Lords, was a frequent guest. Meanwhile her sister Tennessee had married Sir Francis Cook, whose collection of pictures at Richmond was of almost national importance, and who at his death in 1901 left a fortune of more than a million and a half sterling. It is curious to think that fifty years earlier Lady Cook had been distributing handbills which invited patients to visit the magnetic infirmary of "Miss Tennessee, the wonderful child," and that a label with her portrait had then been attached to a bottle of elixir which professed to cure all human ailments. Mrs. Martin, needless to say, never became President of the United States, but her belief in Spiritualism did not waver. In her will she left the bulk of her fortune to her daughter Zulu Maud Woodhull, but in case her daughter did not survive her the greater part was bequeathed to the Society for Psychical Research to form a "Victoria Woodhull trust fund" which would provide annual prizes for meritorious work in the investigation of psychic phenomena.

HERBERT THURSTON.

THE COMING OF AGE OF THE C.S.G.

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

IT is not easy to carry the mind back the full twenty-one years that have elapsed since the birth of the Catholic Social Guild (Sep., 1909), or to recall the state of opinion among Catholics which caused the foundation of such a Guild to be regarded in many quarters with suspicion as a temerarious novelty. Even the founders themselves, enthusiastic and eager as they were, were a little alarmed at their own temerity, and outside criticism soon came to remind them of the need for caution and moderation in their pursuit of a new social policy. Yet, from the first, growth, though slow, was sure, and year by year the Guild struck its roots more deeply into the Catholic fabric of the country and gained sympathy and support from men and women in all classes.

Looking back, there would seem to have been two main reasons both for the need of this new organisation and for the difficulty of getting it to function widely.

The first was the dividing line drawn even by Catholics between their religious faith and the economic principles on which our English industrial life has been built up. To Catholics, as to the vast majority of Englishmen, there was no connection between a man's Sunday obligations and the way he managed his business throughout the week. Economic theories were something wholly apart from religious faith, and any attempt to bring the former into relation with the latter appeared not only foolish but harmful. Hence, in a measure, the widespread apathy among Catholics, keen in the support of their schools and their special charities, to the social evils—sweated industries, bad housing, long hours of labour and so forth—which prevailed on all sides and about which the non-Catholic public was becoming more and more concerned.

The second reason was the peculiar ignorance, even among educated Catholics, concerning contemporary religious developments on the Continent. Thus no one had heard of Bishop Ketteler and his remarkable industrial innovations in Westphalia. A man such as the Comte de Mun was no more than a name, while Leon Harmel's industrial achievements at Val-des-Bois were utterly unrecognised on this side of the Channel until the present writer attempted to diffuse some knowledge of his experiment. While Catholics in France, Belgium and Germany were profoundly stirred when Cardinal Manning settled the historic dock-strike in 1889, English Catholics, for the most part, remained coldly critical. They had no comprehension that his action was one link in a wide-drawn chain of events which was to lead up to the issue of *Rerum Novarum*. And when that epoch-making utterance appeared, it aroused little attention beyond the obligatory press notices where a papal encyclical was concerned. Mr. Charles S. Devas was almost the sole Catholic layman to realise its importance and to try and popularise its doctrine.

Yet in the years that ensued there were gradual stirrings of the Catholic social conscience among us and echoes of the keen controversies that were agitating our co-religionists abroad. Moreover, the growth of Socialism begat anxiety in many circles that had remained indifferent to the crying industrial evils of the time. The Catholic Truth Society, with James Britten as its energetic and irascible secretary and Cardinal Gasquet as a member of its executive committee, began to turn its attention more and more to social problems. Dr. Casartelli, too, before he became Bishop of Salford, was in close touch with Louvain and an intimate friend of the Louvain professor who later was to become celebrated as Cardinal Mercier, and was keen to open up our rather insular English mentality to some knowledge of continental Catholic culture. And so, appropriately enough, it was at the

C.T.S. Silver Jubilee Conference at Manchester (Sep., 1909) that the Catholic Social Guild first saw the light.

In correct English fashion the Guild was inaugurated at a luncheon party, without a constitution, without definite rules, with quite vague ideas as to how its ideals could be realised, but with an enthusiastic conviction both of the need for stirring up English Catholics to the serious study of our industrial conditions and of the possibility of formulating a Catholic social policy based on the teachings of the Leonine Encyclicals and enlightened by foreign Catholic achievements. We were to be broadly democratic, but not led away by Socialist theories; strictly orthodox, but open-minded and progressive; rigidly non-political, but with enlightened views on all the questions of the day. Above all we were, in the first instance, diligently to educate ourselves while tentatively educating others. With such a programme it was indeed fortunate that we had from the first at our back Monsignor Parkinson, Rector of Oscott College, who was not only a sound and highly-trusted theologian, but who possessed a wide understanding of economics combined with warm social sympathies. He was in every respect an admirable and helpful President of the Guild.

Of the men and women who gathered round the initiatory luncheon table or gave in their adhesion to the Guild at an early date were many whose names are familiar in all Catholic circles to-day: Leslie A. Toke, who acted for a time as Hon. Secretary and is now the Chairman of the Guild, James Britten, Dr. Mooney of Preston, Bertrand Devas, who was to fall in the war, Fr. Keating, S.J., Dom Lambert Nolle, O.S.B.; and among women, Miss Margaret Fletcher, Miss Streeter, Lady Gibbs, wife of Sir Philip Gibbs and Miss Emily Fortey, now a J.P. and a city councillor for Leicester. Moreover, the Guild was strengthened from the outset by the ready adhesion of a number of workingmen, most noteworthy of whom in the Trade Union world was

George Milligan, a Dockers' Union secretary at Liverpool, and author of an attractive little book, *Life from Labour's Eyes*, and later by that of Henry Somerville, who was to become the active organising secretary of the Guild on its migration to Oxford. But it is no exaggeration to say that the inspiring genius of the movement at its inception was Charles Plater, S.J. Not yet ordained—he was still studying theology at St. Beuno's—Mr. Plater's exuberant vitality and intense enthusiasm were allowed by his Jesuit superiors to find an outlet in his propaganda in favour of retreats—the work that lay nearest to his heart—and in his schemes for promoting social study. He had already outlined his ideas in various articles for the press, and in " A Catholic Society for Social Study " (*The Month*, Nov., 1909) he developed what he considered to be the immediate work before the new Society, which meanwhile had got itself further into shape at a two days' quiet conference convened at Oscott by its Rector, at which the name of the Catholic Social Guild was definitely adopted.

In this first outline of the work that lay before the Guild the author emphasised the production and distribution of literature on social subjects, the training of lecturers, the drawing up of schemes of study for various types of students, the diffusion of knowledge concerning social movements abroad, the organisation of information bureaux for all social activities and the creation of local circles of Catholics for serious social study. All these aims were to be worked out in the ensuing years, though not always in the precise form envisaged at the outset.

With infectious energy Fr. Plater himself made a start by publishing at this time his deservedly popular little book, *Catholic Social Work in Germany*, which was a revelation to many readers, and by editing for the New Year (1910) the first of the Catholic Social Year-books, a series which has continued successfully from that date

to this, the idea of which was frankly adopted from the annual *Almanach* of the French Action Populaire. Year by year it has proved a veritable storehouse of up-to-date information concerning Catholic activities both at home and abroad.

From the Year-book of the following year (1911) we learn the excellent start the Guild had made in the carrying out of its programme. At the Annual Catholic Congress at Leeds it had taken a conspicuous part in the proceedings, its officers had been elected and its statutes adopted. The Hierarchy had shewn itself most favourably disposed, the Archbishop of Liverpool and the Bishops of Birmingham, Salford and Northampton having all, in various ways, expressed their approval of the work accomplished and foreshadowed. Thus a very optimistic note runs through the Year-book, with its record of growing membership, of a system of book-boxes in operation and in frequent demand, of the publication of various pamphlets in co-operation with C.T.S., of the holding of meetings and the giving of lectures in many parts of the country.

Two years later the Guild could boast the acquisition of a proper London office, the organisation of a lending library, definite courses of social study with regular examinations, an increase in study-clubs, and the issue of a number of really up-to-date " Studies in Social Reform " (King & Son, 6d. net), which had an excellent sale. Mgr. Parkinson was already hard at work on his invaluable *Primer of Social Science*, to be brought out a few months later, and a " Quarterly Bulletin " had been started for the dissemination of Guild news, the forerunner of the *Christian Democrat* of to-day. At the National Catholic Congress at Norwich a crowded meeting had been organised with many distinguished speakers on the platform, at which H.E. Cardinal Bourne took the opportunity to utter kind and warning words foreshadowing some of the trials with which the Guild was shortly to be met. After con-

gratulating the Guild on their splendid meeting, the Cardinal said :—

> He would like to ask for the Catholic Social Guild the whole-hearted sympathy of every Catholic. He appealed for this sympathy because the Guild was engaged in pioneer work, and therefore had special difficulties to face. The pioneer had to advance along new ground, and he might sometimes take a wrong path or make a mistake. Although he had no reason to believe that the Guild had taken a wrong path or made any mistakes, such might arise, and if it did, they ought not to withdraw their countenance from the Guild. . . . . Unless Catholics were up and doing—and unless they learned and studied before they were up and doing—they would be leaving the field to those whose good intentions they appreciated, but with whose doctrines they could not agree.

It was precisely two years later, at the Catholic Congress at Cardiff, on the very eve of the World War, that the criticism of the Guild foreshadowed by the Cardinal had come to a head to an extent that compelled Mgr. Parkinson to make a careful and reasoned defence of the attitude and teaching of the Guild, which in the previous months had seen itself attacked both from the left and the right. There were those who regarded the Guild mainly as a new weapon with which to attack Socialism and who were proportionally annoyed when the Executive Committee refused to be distracted from its steady educational work in favour of sensational anti-Socialist propaganda. Undoubtedly more financial support for the struggling Guild would have been forthcoming had it come boldly out into the field as an anti-Socialist body, for the destructive criticism of other people's doctrines is both more easy and more popular than the slow building-up of a constructive social system. But this had never been the true purpose of the Guild and would have alienated not a few of its early supporters.

Other critics complained that the Guild teaching differed little, if at all, from Socialist theories, that in practice, consciously or unconsciously, it led up to

Socialism and, if encouraged, would have a disruptive effect on the Catholic life of the country. From another side it was urged that the teaching of academic principles, however admirable, was of little avail: what was needed was a voice that would pronounce authoritatively on which side Catholics should take their stand in all social and economic controversies as they arose. When the Guild modestly declined this rôle, it was accused of pusillanimity. About this time too there was much futile and wordy argument as to whether "Socialism was patient of a Catholic interpretation," largely carried on by persons who, in accordance with the English habit of using words vaguely instead of accurately, included in Socialism everything they specially disliked, from high death-duties to municipal trams. When, with much reason, Guild members asked that the word Socialism should first be defined, and suggested—quite correctly—that the Socialism condemned by Leo XIII was absolute Socialist Communism, aiming at the suppression of all private property as anti-social, and should not necessarily be held to include every item in the fluctuating programme of English Socialists, the unorthodoxy of the Guild was considered almost proven. It was, then, to clear the air of all this controversy and allow the Guild to "get on with the job" it had set itself to do, that Mgr. Parkinson spoke out strongly at the Cardiff Congress (July, 1914).

The President began by reminding his audience that the first aim of the Guild had always been the adaptation of the teachings of Leo XIII to the industrial problems of our day—it is worth noting that 65,000 copies of the English translation of *Rerum Novarum* have been sold by the Guild; he then briefly enumerated the main Socialist doctrines, and declared that "To each and all of these systems . . . . the C.S.G. had always been in total and unqualified opposition." He added that in his opinion no *genuine* Socialism was "patient of a Catholic interpretation." As on this occasion Mgr. Parkinson was followed

by Cardinal Gasquet and Bishop McIntyre, both of whom warmly commended the work and aims of the Guild, criticism was silenced for a time, and indeed never did more in the future than indulge in mild cavilling. Another staunch friend who undoubtedly contributed to this result was Mgr. Keating, then Bishop of Northampton, who was really keen on the Guild and always ready to stand by it. On the lamented death of Mgr. Parkinson in 1924, the Executive Committee, grateful for past favours, begged the then Archbishop of Liverpool to become its second President.

Perhaps the best proof that can be given of the vitality of the Guild is that, in spite of its youth and its poverty, it survived the War, relinquishing none of its activities and adding others suitable to the times. The arduous work of Fr. Plater on behalf of soldiers is familiar to all, and it was the Guild that issued his leaflet "How to help the Belgian Refugees," and later his "Letters" to Catholic soldiers which were in great demand at the front —of the first "Letter" over 25,000 copies were distributed. Moreover, in the midst of his strenuous life Fr. Plater found time, in conjunction with his close friend, F. F. Urquhart, to write his *Primer of Peace and War* as a text-book for Guild study-clubs. This is probably his most solid literary achievement, and has been of great use in popularising a right understanding of Catholic teaching on international morality in general and on the ethics of war in particular. Thanks, too, to him and to Mr. Urquhart, the Guild was encouraged to bring out a number of smaller publications dealing with international questions, such as the Law of Nations, the Freedom of the Seas, and so forth, while of the penny reprint of the "Pope's Peace Note" 50,000 were sold within a few weeks.

The year after the Armistice the Guild celebrated its tenth birthday, and the Year-book of 1919, while able to state that the ten years of progress made "had out-

stripped the most sanguine expectations of its founders," shewed itself almost impatiently eager for wider developments. In the event the decade passed was to form the first chapter in the life of the Guild, for within a few months important changes were made. The home of the Guild was moved from London to Oxford, the present writer ceasing to be Hon. Secretary and the post of Organising Secretary being taken over by Mr. Somerville. The leaving of London was a matter of regret to many members, as it is difficult for any society to be really national unless its headquarters are in the metropolis, and London, it must be confessed, is the place where the Guild is at its weakest. On the other hand, the change to Oxford in no way impaired the important educational work that the Guild was, and is still, carrying on in Lancashire and the North, and it had the result of bringing it more closely under the supervision of Fr. Plater, at that time Rector of Campion Hall. It did, however, somewhat alter its objective, and through its second decade the C.S.G., undisturbed by the criticisms and uncertainties of its early years, and influenced in a measure by its academic surroundings, has definitely settled down to sober educational work on lines which, without it, would never have been available for Catholic workingmen and women. The Catholic Workers' College and the annual Summer School held every August at Ruskin College, Oxford, are the concrete creations of these years.

Both these were foreshadowed during Fr. Plater's lifetime. A Summer School at Oxford, uniting for study and fellowship the scattered students of the study-circles, had long been one of his favourite dreams, and it was successfully transferred to reality in June, 1920, when fifty workingmen and women—miners, engineers, railwaymen, clerks, and so forth—spent a week together in a course of lectures and study far more strenuous than its later counterparts indulge in, diligent as these are. Fr. Martindale, in his " Life " of Fr. Plater, devotes several

pages to this event, which he rightly feels to be, in its novelty, one of the real achievements of the Guild. Not only Catholics, such as Fr. Rickaby and Mr. Urquhart, lectured to the school; but distinguished non-Catholics, such as the Master of Balliol and Prof. Ernest Barker, gladly consented to contribute "informal talks" to the "amazed delight" of the students. The school indeed was one of the latest satisfactions of Fr. Plater's life, for increasing ill-health made active work more and more difficult, and long before the date of the next school the end had come with dramatic suddenness at Malta.

It was natural that the thought of a Workers' College as the most fitting memorial to him should have occurred to many of his friends, and though doubts as to its feasibility were expressed in some quarters, within a couple of months the scheme was sufficiently in shape for a memorial to be presented to Cardinal Bourne, begging the approval of the Hierarchy for the venture. This granted, progress was remarkably rapid considering that at the outset there was literally no money available. One or two scholarships were presented, and the Jesuits having given their consent to the appointment of Fr. Leo O'Hea as Principal, it became possible, through the kindness of the University and of Ruskin College, to open the new College in temporary lodgings after the long vacation of 1921 with three students. The following year it moved to its present quarters in Waltonwell Road, and thanks to the generous hospitality of Miss Margaret Fletcher, it soon became possible to receive also two or three women students.

The continuous success of the College and its slow but sure growth have been mainly due to Fr. O'Hea. It has been uphill work, especially on the financial side, but no one who has been in touch with the students can doubt that it has proved of immense benefit to all who have been enabled to profit by it. The subjects studied are History and Economics, together with Catholic philosophy and

apologetics, and two-year students, of whom the College has had not a few, are enabled to take the University Diploma in Economic and Political Science. It has been made clear from the first that the aim is not to lift men to a higher or different professional sphere, but to send them back to their old homes firmly grounded in Catholic social principles, with widened knowledge and developed powers of application and capable of giving active service to the Catholic cause as lecturers and study-club leaders, or in any local public capacity that might present itself. The students have been picked with great care, men who have shewn zeal and aptitude as club members, or who have displayed capacity in their trade-unions, and with such material to work on the Guild has no cause for discouragement in the results achieved. Indeed the development of the Workers' College depends to-day simply upon the amount of financial support the Catholic public bestows upon it.

One further service the C.S.G. has rendered to the Catholic cause in England must not be overlooked. Both through its publications and by means of its Summer School it has kept its members in constant touch with Catholic social movements on the Continent. At almost every Summer School foreign priests and professors—French and German, Belgian and Dutch—have delivered much appreciated lectures. It has emphasised on all occasions the need for developing international relations in every sphere; it is in friendly correspondence with many foreign organisations and has sent delegates to many foreign congresses. Nothing has been more instructive to individual members than this introduction to the Catholic culture and learning of other lands, so long neglected in England; and in the long run perhaps nothing the Guild has achieved has been more beneficial than the development among the workers of that sense of spiritual loyalty and understanding which should unite Catholics of every nationality.

V. M. Crawford.

JACQUES MARITAIN AND HIS AESTHETIC[1]

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J., M.A.

AMONG the innumerable young men of to-day with an itch for world reform Jacques Maritain is distinguished by having ideas of how to set about it. He may owe that passion for dynamic ideas to the fusion of positivistic speculation with the administration of affairs which had its root in the Renascence and its scions among the liberals of France. For he grew up in a *milieu* of free thought, and among men whose noblest aim was the service of man. Here from his childhood he fell under the spell of humanism, of the cult of man and his world. This boy of the *Midi*, born in 1882, spent his vacations from his *lycée* in Paris on the estates of his parents, enthralled with the splendour of nature. He had at this time a healthy, but intoxicating, schoolboy friendship with Ernest Psichari. And together through the long summer days of those years they wandered, from the first light till the last, the secret reaches of the countryside, talking of music with the fervour of discovery, reading the *Fleurs de Mal* (if not the *Contrat Social*), or painting the kine in the rivers, the far, shadowy woods swooning into the sundown, the glittering undulations of the meadows under the south wind sweet with the breath of the Inland Sea.

No shadow can have lain on such a youth, save the fear inevitable to a boy of genius lest time should prove his talent too weak to achieve the vision he coveted. So it must have been with the eagerness of a fighter, but not without dread, that the boy went up to the Sorbonne, to sit at the feet of Bergson (by no means the blindest of modern philosophers) to seek through the mystery of things the ultimate fastness of truth. He was unswer-

[1] *Art and Scholasticism.* By Jacques Maritain. Translated by J. F. Scanlan. London: Sheed and Ward. 1930. 7s. 6d. net.

vingly loyal to his objective. He not only saw what Bergson meant; he saw through it, and grace and the divination of genius alike prompted him to desert Bergson and The Encyclopaedists and in 1906 to enter the Catholic Church; his fervour has ever since been a thing to revere. He was in Heidelberg in 1908, and there he finally concluded that scholasticism alone knew the purpose of life, the mind of the sphynx, and amongst scholastics that St. Thomas alone had fashioned a conclusive, a watertight metaphysic. *Vae mihi*, he says, *si non thomistisavero!* He has been regarded since as the pioneer of the scholastic revival. It is only fair to note, however, that Heidelberg is but a hundred and sixty miles from Munich and in the same intellectual area, and in Munich Dr. Grabmann, in concert with the Jesuits Fr. Peltzer and Fr. (now Cardinal) Ehrle, had already commenced to expound St. Thomas to the world. Maritain must have heard of them; was he stimulated by their example? Grabmann, nevertheless, has since won only the attention of Germany; Maritain (trust a Frenchman) has attracted that of all nations. So he may outlive Grabmann in history, as one who catches the world's imagination may survive all his compeers in the world's memory. Methusaleh is a household word; Jared, who died only four years younger at nine hundred and sixty-five, is forgotten by all but connoisseurs in senility.

M. Maritain, now (though a layman) professor at the *Institut Catholique* in Paris, has many times formulated his programme. He did so lately here in Dublin, where he left us somewhat confounded at his brilliance. His aim is to correct man by instructing him, to lead him by his reason, not by his nose; and his instrument is the metaphysics of the schools. The mission of his life is to interest the public in truth by way of interesting it in metaphysics. The Goddess of Reason turns out, after all, to be an Angel of God. Surely he is wise! Surely the Church to-day needs, above all, missionaries and

metaphysicians! Pope Pius XI, who sees the future, seems to think so, for his pontificate has been chiefly devoted to the promotion of missions and of studies. Both the Pope and M. Maritain are alive to the downfall of the old systems and the imperative tendency of honest men to seek answers of the Church. The whole world may soon be trooping sheepishly to her doorstep to ask her the same humble question that Pilate asked of our Lord. But if our metaphysicians are unable to render an intelligible account of our faith, infidels who come in hope will retire in anger. To say that scholastics have already solved every soluble question of moment is perhaps not true. To say that the conclusions of scholastics are accessible in a form that will interest and convince the lay inquirer is certainly not true. To propagate metaphysics in this form, to unseal to common men their common heritage of Christian wisdom, is M. Maritain's programme.

Few, I think, will regret the lost artist that he is. Metaphysics has spoiled many a poet, and has made metaphysicians of but few of its victims. Yet those few are worth the hecatomb of poets. For our first task is to regenerate society, and, as Mr. Belloc says, "the form of society ultimately depends on its philosophy." All things, except God, are the children of ideas. God Himself is His own idea of Himself; and it is by participation in the ideas of God that society must be regenerated to God's likeness. So it is good to be a maker of ideas, but better to be the trumpet of a prophecy, the channel of the Word, the echo of the voice of Subsistent Truth. Now M. Maritain, more than any living man, by reason of his wide vogue and his advocacy of Catholic dogma, is becoming just such a clarion of the thought of God.

Nevertheless, though he has given himself to graver things than art, he knows better than most theologians the practical need of the Church for a sound philosophy of art. Thousands of men and women to-day, within

and without the fold, have elected to lead the aesthetic life, to make the pursuit of art the earthly end of their endeavour. The Catholic critic who would save their souls must correlate their chosen end on earth with their appointed end in heaven. He must prove that art is not a god in its own right, that to adore it is idolatry. But then if art, admittedly an inclination of incorrupt human nature, demands licence for an immoral function, a function thus irreconcileable with the last end of man, many will claim the right to pursue this function of art as endorsed and justified by human nature, and to re-fashion the moral law conformably to the demands of this pursuit. Needless to say, no tendency of unspoilt human nature, nothing *connatural* to man, can possibly run counter to the last end of man, the purpose of God in creation.[1] *Immoral* art must be not only bad morality but bad *art*. But the task remains, nevertheless, to the Catholic philosopher of showing this *a posteriori*, of showing *how* art as a human activity contributes to the end of man and to the divine purpose in his creation. Mere dogmatic declaration will not do, still less tremulous warning to avoid all art lest it *should* be an evil thing; for we are dealing with men who feel within them the justification of art, and will rest content with nothing but soundly reasoned direction as to the regulation of its impulses. Hence the need for the new scholastics of investigating the ultimate nature of art and its function and purpose. M. Maritain here submits the conclusions of his investigation, and as a fisher of men, baiting his hook with his theory, he has had beginner's luck. For the very first fish he landed was Jean Cocteau.

[1] Yet it *may* be needful to say this. For M. Maritain (v. p. 74) asserts that art does not formally aim at the good of man, but at the good of the work made. This already gives us an *a priori* reason for suspicion. His principles lead him logically, as he does not shrink from acknowledging explicitly (v. p. 118, etc.), to the somewhat dangerous conclusion that art can be immoral without ceasing to be good art. True, other Catholic critics are wont to deny this in a somewhat slapdash manner. But, scientifically examined, it is yet to be denied for the reason given in the text amongst others.

In discussing his theory I have been warned not to be metaphysical. Such a warning is doubtless impossible to heed. But I shall do what I can; if I must use technical terms (and I must), I shall contrive to explain them in language that any grocer may understand.

Briefly, then, M. Maritain's theory of art is this: He defines art as "the undeviating determination of work to be done." The adjective, so far as I know, is not a technical term. It seems to denote an act of the judgment so swift, so certain and unerring, as to be virtually independent of reasoning. The mind seems to conclude undiscursively, at least without *conscious* argument with itself, that certain ideas may be associated in a whole of beauty, that is, such a work as will contribute in all its parts to an end, even if that end be *merely* the harmony of its parts. Now, says M. Maritain, fine art is a species of art in general and is differentiated from the art of the artisan in that its work is itself the ultimate positive end intended by the artist, whereas the work of a craftsman has for chief purpose its usefulness for attaining a further material end. Thus, I suppose, a *belle lettre* is the work of a fine artist, and is of value for itself; a begging letter is the work of a craftsman (often of a master) and has a further purpose than itself in view. There is no *essential* difference then between the faculty of the artist and that of the artisan; both aim at the making of a thing, both are generically ranked by St. Thomas as *recta ratio factibilium*, the intellectual virtue or habit of correctly conceiving of things to be made. The only difference between them is the accidental difference of purpose.

This formidable paragraph comprises, I hope, the substance of the doctrine. It is extended in the book by means of full, even diffuse, explanations. Indeed M. Maritain betrays a tendency to explain his meaning rather than to prove it, to show that the truth *could* be so rather than that it could not be otherwise. We take the literary merit of his exposition for granted. What all

philosophers will value in it, and M. Maritain himself among them, is the measure of truth it contains. Doubtless he gives us many clear visions of things that might be true. But we need here a man of vision, not of visions; for men of visions are apt to overlook the obvious. Is M. Maritain in aesthetics a man of vision? Is his theory true?

Note his point: The ultimate positive purpose of the artist is the work of beauty in itself—nothing beyond. That is the point I wish to discuss.

And first of all there arises the question: Do the scholastics on whom M. Maritain bases himself mean by *ars* what we mean by *art?* It cannot be proved from St. Thomas and his commentators that they ever isolated the fine arts as a subject for intensive study. And in truth *is* the difference between the carpenter and the sculptor, for example, so slight that they can be called, at least generically, the same? Is the only difference between them that one makes useful things and the other makes useless things? It is true that many sculptors as a matter of fact simulate to a fault the qualities of carpenters. Their work in stone takes on the very habit of wood; it is compact of woodenness from the expression on the face of the statue to the representation therein of the artist's own soul. But it is not immediately clear that this admirable virtuosity gives aesthetic value to their sculpture.

Indeed the question of criticism that really urges is not at all how the artist composes, but why he composes. We wish to know the part to be played by art in human life. It may be admitted that the habit of music, the power of creative song, is as a technique an intellectual virtue, and as such essentially the same generic virtue as that of the artisan. But the thing that reduces that power to act, the intention of the musician, the end or *finis* of art, may differ in all particulars from the intention of the artisan. And (scientifically or not) we have come

to specify art by its function rather than by its material or technical essence, *per effectum non per esse*, by what it does not by what it is. We wish to know not that art is a habit of making something of a certain quality, but why that habit should ever be employed. To define that function is the task set by the artistic world to the philosophic critic. If, therefore, M. Maritain has set out to show that art, inadequately and in its mere *technical* essence considered, is analogous to the faculty of the craftsman, he may be right but his book is otiose and unimportant. If, however, he holds, as he assuredly does hold, that art adequately considered (that is specifically and in relation to its function) is analogous to the crafts, I contend he is wrong.[1] I shall prove that contention straightway.

Agreed then that the purpose of the artist is not to produce a work useful for some material end. If we exclude this possibility, a man's motive for externalising his concepts in sensible images or symbols, in writings or in pictures, may be either (i) to assure himself that he possesses the technical power of expressing them, as who should say "Boo!" to a mad bull to convince himself he is not afraid to say it; or (ii) to recall to his mind a thought of beauty when the thought itself has faded from memory, to be for a memorandum of delight, a moment's mirror now become its monument; or (iii) to communicate his concepts to others. (This communication may be further specified by being devoted to various ulterior purposes, and the fact is important, as we shall see; enough here, however, to state the possibility generically). The creation of a thing of beauty for its own sake will not constitute a fourth possible motive distinct from the three enumerated; for no man creates or acts at all but with the hope of deriving good from his act. No man ever

[1] In more technical and exact language, my contention is that the end to which the work is ordained should be included in the formal object of art. On its inclusion essentially depends the *species* of the habit employed, *i.e.*, whether or no this is the habit of *fine* art.

does anything unless it benefits himself or someone whom he regards as his *alter ego* because that one is dear to him. And beauty is only good (*bonum alteri*) when it is possessed through knowledge by the intellect, for then only is it *actualiter conveniens*; only dependently on its relation to an intellect can it give that delight in order which is its specific function *as* beauty. *Unknown* beauty is not such a good (except potentially), for as beauty it does not fulfil its office of perfecting something else, to wit the mind and will of the beholder. But to one who already has the mother-concept, the *causa exemplaris*, of the material and external beauty in his own mind, that beauty can add no joy directly save to remind him of the first concept when that concept has grown dim under the touch of time. Or it may serve to convince him of his own powers. Failing that, it can only serve to communicate his concepts to others. So that, as logicians say, our disjunction of possibilities is complete.

Now for the minor of my syllogism: I assert that the function of art is neither to assure the artist of his powers of expression nor to serve as a memorial of his concepts. It is therefore, I conclude, essentially a communication. A little thought will show that this minor cannot be proved by *a priori* arguments. All three possible motives assigned are reasonable, and indeed each actually urges men under certain conditions. Needs then is to analyze our experience of our reactions to art to find out empirically which is *de facto* the specific motive of art. This indeed is the method hitherto employed by all critics who have grappled with the problem, though the Thomistic lover of system may be loath to accept any argument that does not proceed from a metaphysical principle.

The first of these three hypotheses may be briefly dismissed. It is perhaps the reason why painters like to keep their paintings; it is not why they paint them. No critic, I imagine, will allow that art is no more than the self-assurance of power, fuel for the

vanity of artists. A work of art is more than a *tour de force*, more than speed-racing[1] or mountain-climbing. Nor do we value it as such a manifestation of power, but for itself and its effects. It is little to us that a certain nameless Greek was singularly capable of expressing the heroic; what matters to us is the heroic Achilles vase that he made. If the great masters sometimes yielded to this motive it was that of their training or recreation, not of their life-work. The Alcaïcs of Swinburne, the harmony-themes written by Beethoven for Albrechtsberger, the sketches of Millais on the backs of telegrams differed wholly in function and purpose from their formal masterpieces. But indeed I waste too many words on this deservedly neglected hypothesis.

The second of these three possibilities is virtually M. Maritain's thesis; whether the function of art be comprehended for him in the creation of a thing of beauty for its own sake or in its creation as a memorial of a past concept, it comes to the same thing. Now I reject this theory chiefly because it does not require art to be a communication. Adam, before Eve's creation, could not have been an artist, unless he wrote poems to his future audience *in spe*; and M. Maritain would not admit this. I have, therefore, two points to demonstrate: First, that there is discernible in any work of art an aptitude to communicate a form, whether emotional or intellectual, to others. M. Maritain might admit this, but he certainly considers such communication (v. p. 33) as only accidental to the function of art, which is simply to make beauty without ulterior purpose. I have, therefore, to demonstrate in the second place that at least some works whose essence is the very *ratio* of art constitute that essence by their exigency to communicate; incidentally it will appear that the *thing* communicated is

[1] I wonder whether there is not some confusion in M. Maritain's thought when he seems to compare the function of art to that of games (v. p. 34). For even in his theory there should be a distinction as between the first and the second of our hypotheses.

an experience. Evidently then, we shall conclude, the capacity to communicate experience is a constituent of art. I need not proceed in this article to show that this is, moreover, the *metaphysical* essence, the specific difference or the *chief* characteristic, of art.

First, then, I maintain that there is an element of *pleading* in all art, and pleading connotes the desire to communicate. In certain styles of art this pleading becomes imperative. They grip us so as to convince us straightway, by something akin to immediate consciousness, that we have accepted an invitation to sympathy, that we correspond with a mood. All highly impassioned art, like the utterance of impassioned men (which it is), is an effort by main violence of protest to attract attention to itself, to beseech all who pass by the way to see if there be sorrow like to this sorrow. In those forms of art where the attention is strongly focussed on the concrete object of sense—epic poetry, programme or, in another way, dance music, all the arts of visible design—the communication of mood and feeling is more easily overlooked, but can always be discerned by one who faithfully analyzes his delight in them. And even where, as in classical art, the expression of passion is deliberately restrained, the *pleading* is not lessened through its discipline by the rational faculties; rather the passion becomes *more* convincing by gaining in lucidity. Take the great formalists themselves, the classics, the intellectuals, the Hellenists. The worth of the Pheidian marbles to those who treasure them depends not only on their harmony of line and proportion, but on the Greek spirit, the sense of conscious power in control, that they diffuse; otherwise they would be but as decorations to life, to be but glanced at as fine wall-paper or the margins of an illuminated missal. The worth of the symphonies of Mozart lies in the perfection of their complex of harmony, rhythm, and form, but also in the wistful sunniness of their temper; whereas a blackbird's song lacks this element of rational

appeal, this intent to communicate, and is worthy of attention only for its own sake, for it too is but a decoration. And finally the reason why we worship the greatest of the *chansons de geste* just this side idolatry is not for the mere image of the paladin, " prozdum, juvente bele " though he be *par excellence*, but for the spiritual exaltation conjured by that vision of youth and heroic death, for the horn of Roland that still casts to the four winds its faint but peremptory echoes from the passes of Roncesvalles.

But conclusively to refute this theory we must prove that this element of pleading is *essential* to art. Let me study a poem as Lessing studied the Laocoon, a celebrated poem of Shelley's, a romantic poem, caviare to the Thomist and the Hellenist, but a poem :—

One word is too often profaned
For me to profane it,
One feeling too falsely disdained
For thee to disdain it.
One hope is too like despair
For prudence to smother,
And pity from thee more dear
Than that from another.

I can give not what men call love ;
But wilt thou accept not
The worship the heart lifts above
And the heavens reject not ;
The desire of the moth for the star,
Of the night for the morrow,
The devotion to something afar
From the sphere of our sorrow ?

This poem is an example of pure poetry, that is of poetry that fulfils the specific function of art and no other function in any degree worth noting—poetry, therefore, which belongs essentially to the species *art*. I cannot prove except by common consent that this *is* an example of pure art (and, remember, we are trying to find out what men in general *mean* by art), but I am

certain that this, as my major premise, will be granted by anyone who is fit to study M. Maritain or even this article. Now, I imagine, it will also be clear that the essence of this poem is a communication of experience. The only *form* it expresses is an experience (understood in the aesthetic sense as an emotion either connoting or implying the circumstances that determine its kind). The few images are plainly subordinated to the sole end of more precisely delineating the mood. Nor does it suffice for Shelley's purpose merely to express in words this form. He does not merely state or *describe* his mood as a novelist might. He makes of it not a mere representation, but a kind of nature that operates, an active principle grafting upon others his whole experience in the concrete. Through it, as through an engine of battle, a *machina bellica*, he lays siege to the heart. He implores, he caresses, he infuses his whole soul into us as we read, his whole conscious life of a moment, till the shafts of his torment quiver in our own hearts and wound not for the only reason that they are not ours. Surely, M. Maritain, you must be aware as you read that you become Shelley even more than the mind becomes its object, for you not only know him, but you feel with his feelings. Surely our argument stands against you: The essence of art is verified in the essence of this poem, and the essence of this poem is the communication of experience.

Let us note here in parenthesis that we have proved even more than is necessary to upset M. Maritain's thesis. If this poem and other works of its kind (which includes innumerable poems and paintings, and the greater part of great music) be works of pure art, it follows that the formal object of art essentially connotes not merely the communication of an intellectual form but also its concomitant emotions or reactions of the appetites, sensible and rational. In other words it communicates a whole experience not merely as an idea but *in concreto*; that is to say, we actually *undergo* that experience participated

by imaginative sympathy. As metaphysicians say, it is not the same concrete experience *in individuo*, but it is so *in essentia*.

Therefore, I indict M. Maritain of a twofold error: (i) for implying that communication with another mind is at most accidental to the purpose of art, and (ii) for confining this communication to that of concepts or ideas, to the exclusion of feeling or emotion in the concrete.[1] His definition of art fails, therefore, because it is not *de omni et de solo*. It fails to comprehend the full essence of every work of art *quâ tale*, that is to say, considered precisely *as* a work of art, and so may be verified in what is not art at all. After all, art, as we understand it to-day, *does* belong to the category of doing as well as of making; for the work made aims at effecting a real change in the mind of the beholder. The process of art is from spirit to spirit by way of the senses, and when its appeal stops in the senses it fails at once of art and morality. But its purpose is to move the spirit to delight, not knowledge, and the sovereign residence of delight is the will. How art reaches the spirit in its audience, and how after all it really *is* a direct manifestation of man's tendency towards good, towards *bonum in communi*, how indeed at least the *remote* formal object of art, implicitly sought, is the last end of man, I have already explained in *Studies* (March, 1928). No need here to sing the old song over again.

It is sufficient, moreover, to single out for attack this one omission from M. Maritain's definition of art, namely, its function of communication. I might also take exception to many more of his tenets; but, in a logically coherent theory such as his, one false premise will vitiate every conclusion. Just because it is so well-constructed

[1] (Again a technical note). In other words M. Maritain specifies art by its material object, *i.e.*, the work of beauty as it is in itself; whereas a habit should be specified by its formal object, *i.e.* (in the case of art) the work of beauty as it is apprehended by the mind, which perceives its relations (*e.g.*, to its purpose) and other abstract attributes.

the destruction of the keystone will set the whole arch a-tumble. Those, therefore, who accept my criticism of M. Maritain's definition will not lightly accept the conclusions that depend on it.

One word more. M. Maritain insinuates (on p. 63) the old comparison between art and the creative activity of God. But surely God created nothing for its own sake. He created the material world as a means to help man to give Him formal glory (the Ignatian praise, reverence, and service) and so to attain his end of beatitude in heaven. The artist, too, aims at conferring (M. Maritain holds, however, only accidentally) an analogous though imperfect beatitude. Is the beatitude proferred by God in its essence merely the knowledge of God, or does that essence primarily connote that sympathy of wills, that participation of desires, known as the *amor amicitiae*? Is the first office of art merely to make known its object, or to cause a sympathy of feeling or will, with perhaps (for art is not the last goal of the will) yet a deeper reaction?

I refer to this old controversy between Scotists and Thomists to indicate the metaphysical basis of my theory, too technical for treatment here. M. Maritain is the acclaimed leader to-day of the Neo-Thomist philosophy. A Neo-Scotist school will, I dare prophesy, one day appear, not to rob St. Thomas of any of his just glories, but merely that the truth may prevail. For it is my faith that Scotus, far from being the excessively subtle and abstract doctor, really endeavoured to adapt St. Thomas to the facts of experience. And when the Thomists have smitten the Philistines of heresy they will have to meet this more friendly foe. Meanwhile to M. Maritain from all Catholics admiration for his genius and his valiant championship of the Church.

ARTHUR LITTLE.

STEPHEN MOYLAN IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY FRANK MONAGHAN

DURING the debate on national-origins legislation in the United States Senate, in June 1929, Senator Thomas J. Heflin, of Alabama, bluntly declared: "No Irishman of any consequence came here from southern Ireland until about 1850." In the debate which followed Senator Heflin refused to modify his original declaration. The various newspaper comments which his speech produced made no attempt to settle the percentages of Irish Revolutionary soldiers who came from the north and from the south of Ireland, a question which defies solution, but almost all have called to public attention the names of Stephen Moylan and John Fitzgerald. Of the two, Moylan was certainly the more important, and his career, though not among the more brilliant Revolutionary careers, was one of distinction. The distinguished editor of *The Commonweal* of New York suggested that "ever and anon Senator Heflin does American education a real service and . . . possibly—who knows?—the senator from Alabama may have inspired the first biographer of Moylan to sit down and write."[1] But that indefatigable historian of things Irish, Martin J. Griffin, sat down more than twenty years ago to write the biography of Moylan. His little book, *Stephen Moylan* (1909), was not a biography; it was merely the publication of fragmentary and incomplete notes. That the editor of *The Commonweal* should be unaware of its existence is an indication of its obscurity and failure.

Stephen Moylan was born in 1737 in Cork, where his father, John Moylan, was extensively engaged in commerce. His mother was Countess of Limerick. The members of the Moylan family were all devout Catholics: two of his sisters became Ursuline nuns and his brother Francis became a priest, was consecrated Bishop of Kerry

[1] Editorial in *The Commonweal* for 26 June 1929.

in 1775, and later was made Bishop of Cork. Because of the severe penal laws then in force against Irish Catholics Stephen and Francis were sent to the Continent and educated in Paris. In 1765 Stephen was in Lisbon, engaged in the shipping business with his father, who remained in Cork. Three years later he came to Philadelphia, where he continued his commercial and shipping activities with considerable success. With the acquisition of wealth he became socially prominent, and in 1770 was made a member of the Old Gloucester Fox Hunting Club. When on Saint Patrick's Day 1771 the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick were organized in Philadelphia he was elected the first president, an office which he held for three years.

Moylan became very friendly with Sam Adams and with John Dickinson, celebrated as the author of the *Farmer's Letters*, and with the outbreak of the Revolution the latter introduced him to Washington as one who was most desirous of furthering the cause of American liberty. Nor was Moylan alone in his family in his desire to serve the colonies. "All the members," remarked a friend who knew four of the brothers of the Moylan family, "were amiable, sensible, lively and remarkably active and useful in the Revolution." John, who had been in commerce at Cadiz, came to America and became clothier-general to the Revolutionary army; another became a lawyer in Philadelphia; and the third, located at Lorient, France, was most useful in the matter of the treaty which was negotiated in 1777 between the American agents and the Farmers General of France providing for an annual supply of tobacco from the American colonies. On August 11, 1775, Washington appointed Moylan Muster-Master General of the army, and he was entrusted with the fitting-out of several privateers which during the early months of the struggle were successful in preying upon British commerce in the North Atlantic. From January of 1776 he actively agitated for complete independence for the colonies. He wrote to Colonel Joseph Reed: "Shall we never leave off debating and boldly declare inde-

pendence ! " And in the same month he desired " vastly " to become American ambassador to Spain to assist in securing aid for the revolting colonies, but the difficulties of this unpleasant and unprofitable post were spared him. He became secretary and aid to Washington in March, though he had already been discharging the duties of those positions for several months. Congress, in June, elected him Quartermaster General of the army to succeed Thomas Mifflin ; at the same time he was given the ranking of colonel.

It was Moylan's misfortune that several times during the war he was given tasks which were impossible of successful solution, because of their inherent difficulties or the lack of necessary facilities. The first of these was the difficult task of sinking obstructions in the Hudson River to block the advance of the British forces under Lord Howe. Moylan, with few men and fewer materials, worked heroically to establish the defences, but in July the British ships sailed up the river without injury from either the obstructions or the *chevaux de frise*. The second was the reorganization of the army. This was brought to the attention of a committee of Congress. It made a lengthy investigation and at the end was faced by two urgent facts : the notoriously chaotic organization of the army and the necessity of recommending some action. The only recommendation they could make was a change in the Quartermaster General. Moylan promptly resigned, ably vindicated himself in a long letter to the President of Congress, and was succeeded by Mifflin. He refused several offers of what he considered inferior posts, including the command of a battalion, and remained with the army as a volunteer. Detained by a bitter snowstorm, he was not able to join the army in its important victory over the British at Trenton, but he did participate with distinction in the following victory at Princeton. " The feeling when pursuing the flying enemy is unutterable.. inexpressible," he wrote Robert Morris. " I know I never

felt so much like one of Homer's Deities before. We trod on air—it was a glorious day! . . . America will—by God—it must be free!"

In December Washington had requested Moylan to organize and command a regiment of cavalry or light dragoons. His regiment was recruited, equipped, and prepared for active service the following April. When not in actual conflict with the forces of the enemy the dragoons were used for scouting and patrol service. During this time Moylan was one of the many American officers who became embroiled with Count Casimir Pulaski, the Polish patriot who had thrown himself into the American cause and now commanded the entire body of cavalry of which Moylan's dragoons were a part. Moylan became involved in a quarrel with Pulaski and his friend, Lieutenant Zielinski. Moylan had frequently been a member of courts-martial, but in October 1777 he himself was called before one to account for this unseemly conduct towards the two Polish officers. He was acquitted, but in December Zielinski secured some little satisfaction by "unhorsing" Moylan in a tilt. Many other misunderstandings contributed to Pulaski's determination to resign command of the cavalry and to form another and entirely independent corps of dragoons. This he did in March 1778; while resigning, he wrote Washington several letters in an effort to prevent the promotion of Moylan. These were unheeded, and on March 20, 1778, Moylan was placed in command of all the horse in the American service.[1] With the promotion of Moylan the cavalry, though small in numbers and poorly equipped, became more efficient and useful. It would be tedious and fruitless to follow the various movements of Moylan throughout the war. In May 1781 La Fayette, then in Virginia, was in great need of cavalry, and Moylan was dispatched southward, and took up an important position before Yorktown.

[1] For the quarrel between Moylan and Pulaski, see especially Dr. Wladyslaw Wayda's *Kazimierz Pulaski w Ameryce*, Warsaw, 1930.

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis ill health forced Moylan to return to Philadelphia. This was his last service with the cavalry. His old troop of dragoons were ordered into Georgia. At the end of the war the army was very considerably reduced and his services were no longer needed. Congress, on November 3, 1783, made Moylan a brigadier-general by brevet.

In the midst of the many distresses of the war Moylan had become engaged to Mary Ricketts Van Horn of Phil's Hill, near Bound Brook, New Jersey. Her father was a rich merchant who had retired to his estate in the country. His home was frequently in the midst of the war zone; he was a man of perfect integrity, but because of his proximity to both armies his views were somewhat neutral. It once happened that he gave breakfast to Lord Cornwallis and dinner to General Lincoln of the American army on the same day. Cornwallis, suspecting the presence of Lincoln at Van Horn's, came to surprise him. He, however, had been able to retire to a nearby wood, while Cornwallis enjoyed an affable breakfast with Van Horn. After the departure of Cornwallis Lincoln returned to dine with his host. During the course of the war the five daughters of Van Horn found husbands; Mary was doubtless captivated by Moylan's jovial nature and by a most remarkable uniform, consisting of a red waistcoat, buckskin breeches, bright green coat and bear-skin hat. On September 12, 1778, Moylan married her, "a lady," as the newspaper announcement stated, "possessed of every accomplishment to render the married state happy."

A pleasant picture of Moylan is given by the Marquis de Chastellux in his description of his travels in America.[1] Chastellux had been entertained by Washington before the latter left Prakness to go into winter quarters, and Moylan was sent to conduct Chastellux as far as Trenton.

[1] *Travels in North America, in the years* 1780, 1781, and 1782. English translation in two vols. London. 1787. See vol. I., pp. 141-173.

The Marquis was troubled, for he travelled most comfortably when alone, but soon he entered into conversation with Moylan and was charmed to discover that he was in the company of " a very gallant and intelligent man, who had lived long in Europe, and who had travelled through the greatest part of America." He found Moylan to be " perfectly polite, for his politeness was not troublesome, and I soon conceived a great friendship for him." Chastellux dined with the Van Horns and the Moylans. Mrs. Van Horn seemed to the Marquis, " from her countenance, her dress, and her deportment, to perfectly resemble a picture of Vandyke." Moylan took Chastellux to Princeton, where he had once felt like one of Homer's deities while chasing the British. President Witherspoon showed them about the college, but the Marquis was anxious to see things that pertained to the great General Washington, so he " passed rapidly from Parnassus to the field of Mars, and from the hands of President Witherspoon into those of Colonel Moylan. They were both equally upon their own ground; so that while one was pulling me by the right arm, telling me ' Here is the philosophy class,' the other was plucking me by the left to shew me where one hundred and eighty British laid down their arms."

After the close of the war Moylan several times went to Mount Vernon to visit Washington, whose confidence and friendship he enjoyed. He had once returned twenty-five cents to Washington because he had been overpaid that amount. Moylan's later years were those of many Revolutionary officers: comfortable retirement to minor public offices. He settled in Philadelphia, and in 1793 Washington appointed him commissioner of loans. In 1796 Moylan was again elected the president of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick; he was thus, as far as the extant records indicate, the first and the last president of that organisation. He died in Philadelphia on April 13 1811.

FRANK MONAGHAN.

CHRONICLE

I.—First International Congress of Catholic Secondary Education

(Brussels, 28 July—2 August 1930)

BY T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.
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THE decision of the National Federation of Catholic Secondary Schools in Belgium to mark the centenary of Belgian Independence, July 1930, by holding an International Congress on the issues affecting the progress of secondary education for Catholics all the world over, was timely alike in retrospect and in prospect. The closing paper of the four days' discussions, held at the Institut S. Louis, Brussels, July 28-31, afforded ample evidence of the dominant and even decisive part which the Catholic claims for liberty in education, and especially in Higher Education, played in the years before and after national independence was successfully asserted a century ago in Belgium and in the capital of Belgium. Before the Nuncio Apostolic, the Spanish Ambassador, two Cabinet Ministers and two Ministers of State, and a platform and hall filled with the educational representatives of twenty-six nations, the educational issues of 1826-1830 and their solutions were set out in a paper by M. le chanoine Blampain, Vicar-General of Tournai. The narrative, based on and made up of terse extracts from documentary sources, was pointedly national; but it conveyed a great international truth, which since 1919 Europe is coming more fully to realise: educational rights—religious, social, racial, linguistic—are set deep down in any problem of human freedom, and are never merely casual or accidental. To Catholic Ireland, where since the first half of the sixteenth century English policy made educational assimilation a chief instrument of state action, this truth needed no emphasis. Our educational freedom, under the guidance of the Holy See and in cordial but equal co-operation with Civil Authority, was fortunately reflected in every section of the varied school exhibits at the Salle Irlandaise of the Brussels Congress. Not less effective, it is gratifying to be able to state, was the part which Ireland has been privileged to take in the prospective and constructive work planned out and decided on at this First International Congress on Catholic Secondary Education.

Though the decision to take advantage of the National Celebrations of July, 1930, for an initiation of such international discussions and activities was taken at a late date, several nations

were able not only to send large delegations, but to make a display, more or less representative, of Catholic school activities within their borders. Those of Spain, Holland and Belgium, with France and four or five other countries, were well worth attentive study. Very effective, too, was the international display of the activities of the great teaching institute of S. Jean Baptiste de la Salle. The response of the Catholic Secondary Schools of Ireland to a call which came to them late in May, 1930, at the time when organised co-operation was least possible, was so fine and so comprehensive that the Salle Irlandaise, in the great College which fronts the Jardin Botanique at Brussels, attracted considerable attention. The *Standard* of Dublin, August 2, 1930, describes its range as follows :—

> There are several national exhibits, and the first of these in position was that from the Catholic Secondary Schools and Colleges of *All* Ireland, which is accommodated in a special hall. It comprises representative exhibits of *all* school activities, in and out of the classroom, from our Diocesan Colleges (as Ballinasloe, Ennis, Letterkenny, Kilkenny, Carlow), Blackrock, Clongowes, Belvedere, Melleray, Roscrea, and other boarding schools ; the Catholic University School, Dublin ; many schools of the Christian Brothers and of the De La Salle Brothers ; the Catholic Preparatory Colleges ; St. Enda's College, Rathfarnham ; and from the Secondary Schools of the Brigidine, Dominican, Holy Faith, Mercy, Loreto, Benedictine, Sacred Heart, St. Louis, and Ursuline Nuns, together with the Schools of the Faithful Companions, the Sisters of the Cross and Passion, of St. Joseph of Cluny, La Sainte Union, and other teaching congregations, including, of course, the new Catholic preparatory colleges for girls.
>
> Among the special exhibits may be mentioned the fully representative section of the Catholic Boy Scouts and Catholic Girl Guides of Ireland, including the activities of the Catholic Sea Scouts and the Catholic Invalid Scouts, with specimens of work done in many branches of this excellent form of Catholic training. The various types of Catholic summer camps, enclosed retreats, and pilgrimages, are also well displayed.
>
> A full contribution of the official publications of the Saorstát Ministry of Education was sent by direction of the Secretary to the Department. It is accompanied by the good wishes of the Minister (Professor J. M. O'Sullivan), in Irish and in French, and both Mrs. James MacNeill, wife of the Governor General, and Mr. de Valera, Chancellor of the National University of Ireland, also sent messages of goodwill, in the national language.

This compact account may here be supplemented by a note on certain aspects of this Irish Schools Exhibit. Under certain leading heads, the actual work of the Irish secondary classes were on view, and occupied about one-third of the entire space available for the Irish Section. The system of National Programmes and National Examinations for the whole of the secondary period of Religious Instruction in Dogma and Apologetics, Sacred Scripture, Sacred and Ecclesiastical History, Social Science, and Liturgy with Music, was presented in the leading position. It was followed by large quantities of the work of students in Classics (including

Free Composition both in Greek and in Latin), History and Geography (Irish and European), Mathematics and Sciences, Nature Study and Agriculture, Vernacular and Modern Foreign Languages. The range of work actually done through the Irish Language, impressed our hundreds of inquirers from all European countries very markedly indeed. So did the really splendid exhibits of class-work in Drawing and Constructive design, which were given the most effective display possible. The collection of school magazines and scholastic publications, some twenty in all, was a distinctive feature of the Irish Section ; and visitors found the *Notes* and latest Statistics (1929-30) of Irish Catholic secondary schools, taken in conjunction with the large map of all these institutions, of service in the study of the Irish system. All the statistical lists were set out and all map presentation was made on the basis of the historic ecclesiastical " division of all Ireland " into four Provinces, Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, Tuam. The existence of these regional units, independent of the civil power, functioning in 1930 as in and from the Synod under the Cardinal Legate Paparo in 1152, was clearly set before the visitors to the Irish Exhibits. The Hall was dedicated thus :

PIO PP. XI
SUB LITTERAS ENCYCLICAS
" DIVINI ILLIUS MAGISTRI "
DE CHRISTIANA IUVENTUTIS INSTITUTIONE
DIE ULTIMO ANNI MCMXXIX DATAS
AULA HAEC HIBERNICA.

Below this declaration was cited the striking sentence on the loyalty of Ireland to the Holy See, to be read in the Apostolic Letter of November, 1929, whereby the Nunciature Apostolic was established at Dublin.

The preparation of the Irish Exhibits during the week preceding the opening of the Congress and its serviceableness to academic visitors during the Congress week owed much to the zealous services of Frs. Allan P. Farrell, S.J., of St. Louis, John O'Meara, S.J., and John C. McQuaid, C.S.Sp., D.D., M.A., of Blackrock College, who with Br. Philip. B.Sc., Principal of De La Salle University Hall, Dublin, were always present. The effectiveness of the entire Irish activities owes most to the presence of the Rt. Rev. James Leen, C.S.Sp., D.D., Bishop of Port Louis, Mauritius. Dr. Leen, a distinguished mathematical graduate of our National University, celebrated the opening Mass of the

Congress, and was ever influential alike in public discussions, on ceremonial occasions and in the business meetings where the practical decisions of this First International Congress were planned and made effective.

There were four arduous sessions of the Congress, each of about four hours' duration. The bare list of the papers can alone be recorded here.

MONDAY, 28 JULY.

President: Chanoine Aubry (Paris).
General Subject: Religious Formation.

1. The Mission of Secondary Education. M. l'abbé Clesse (Belgium).
2. True Philosophy and False Philosophies in Training Courses for Teachers. T. Corcoran. (Ireland).
3. The Teaching of Religion. L. Sullerot (France).
4. The Personality of Our Saviour in Religious Education. J. Goupil (France).

TUESDAY, 29 JULY.

President: R. P. Van de Vorst, S.J., Provincial of Belgium.
General Subject: Moral Education.

1. Aims and Methods of Moral Training. J. Leclercq (Belgium).
2. Family and School as agents of Character Formation. D. Sabatier, de l'Oratoire (Rome, Paris).
3. Teaching of Liturgical Music. J. Van Nuffel (Belgium).
4. Preparation of the College Student for Life. Mgr. Petit de Julleville, Bishop of Dijon (France).

WEDNESDAY, 30 JULY.

President: Chanoine Blampain, Vicar-General of Tournai.
General Subject: Intellectual Formation.

1. Aims and Methods of Intellectual Discipline. Dr. J. de Boer, La Haye (Holland).
2. Aesthetic Culture. Louis Gillet, Conservateur du Musée Jacquemart-André, Chaâlis (France).
3. Training to the Love of Work. Joseph Schroteler, Düsseldorf (Germany).
4. The Exact Sciences. J. Tillieux, Liège (Belgium).
5. History. L. Willaert, Namur (Belgium).
6. Greek. H. Petitmangin, Collège Stanislas, Paris.
7. (*a*) Virgil and Christianity. H. Halflants, Brussels.
   (*b*) Virgil and General Culture. H. Théolier (France).

THURSDAY, 31 JULY.

President: Chanoine Desmedt, Officier de l'Ordre de Léopold.
General Subject: Catholic Social Service.

1. Initiation into Religious and Social Action. Chanoine Chevalier (Bonne-Espérance, Belgium).
2. Catholic Action in the Catholic School. Mgr. Picard (Belgium).
3. Catholic Secondary Education and State Aid.
   (*a*) Holland (C. Van den Broeck).
   (*b*) Ireland (J. O'Meara, Belvedere College, Dublin).
4. Games and Education. (G. Kean, Weybridge).
5. The Cinema (A. Memoire, D.Sc., Malonne, Belgium).

At noon, on this fourth day, the chair at the General Assembly of the Congress was taken by the Nuncio Apostolic to Belgium, Mgr. Micara. The closing address, on the educational aspects of public events in Belgium, 1826-1831, already referred to, was followed by the official publication of the decisions of the Congress. They were set out under three main heads, and in view of their practical character and world-wide scope, as well as to secure accurate presentation, they are cited here as they were read to and cordially sanctioned by the full Congress.

(1). Les Congressistes déclarent accepter résolûment et totalement, dans l'esprit comme dans la lettre, les directions données par l'Encyclique de Sa Sainteté Pie XI sur l'Enseignement de la jeunesse : pour eux, fils soumis de l'Eglise catholique, lá est la vraie et unique lumière.

En particulier, le Congrès forme le vœu de voir toute liberté nécessaire à l'accomplissement de cette tâche accordée aux catholiques dans tous les pays et de voir régner des lois qui protègent efficacement l'exercice de ce droit sacré.

(2). Ils formulent le vœu que par les soins d'un Comité permanent de trois membres et, si possible, sous le patronage de l'Université de Louvain, soit publiée en frangais une enquête sur l'enseignement libre dans tous les pays du monde, faisant connaître à la fois les statistiques exactes des écoles, des maítres et des élèves et l'état particulier de la législation scolaire. Cette enquête sera complète en trois volumes, publiés á raison d' un volume par an et réédités après trois ans dans le même ordre, afin d'être tenus á jour.

(3). Les adhérents du 1er Congrès International de l'enseignement secondaire libre formulent le deuxième vœu qu'une Commission veuille bien accepter la mission de préparer et de convoquer dans une ville d'Europe facilement abordable un deuxième Congrès international qui aurait lieu dans trois ans, ce cycle de trois ans correspond à la période de publication de l'enquête demandée par le premier vœu.

(4) Sont nommés pour constituer le comité provisoire : le R. P. Corcoran (Irlande) ; M. le Dr. Van den Broeck (Hollande) ; le R. P. Morel (Belgique) ; M. Hiers (secrétaire).

The text of these decisions, to be proposed to the General Assembly, was prepared in a business meeting held the afternoon

before. It may be added in this Chronicle that the three propositions embody no small amount of the propositions put forward from Ireland. Their practical value alike to Catholic missionary action in all parts of the world, as well as to the settled systems of Catholic Education in Europe, America, and Australasia, was at the right moment emphasised by the Bishop of Port Louis.

T. CORCORAN.

II.—Memories of Canon Sheehan

BY MRS. WILLIAM O'BRIEN.

THE Gaelic League has taken the pleasant initiative of lectures on religion and literature all through Ireland. In Mallow, this Lent, among other attractive subjects, one lecture was devoted to Canon Sheehan. The lecturer so carried away his hearers that when he had done speaking, there was a suggestion of raising a monument in Mallow to Canon Sheehan and the other two illustrious Mallow men whose names the lecturer had brought together—Thomas Davis and William O'Brien.

To my mind the best way to honour these men is to study their works. In Canon Sheehan's case a new edition of his books, brought out by the Talbot Press, makes this a very easy matter for Irishmen and Irishwomen who care for depth of religious feeling and literary charm. For the first time *My New Curate* is published in Ireland; so the reproach, that one can only find in an American edition that masterpiece of our great novelist, no longer exists.

It might almost be said that Canon Sheehan gave the best that was in him to his books. And yet that would not be quite accurate. Those who had the rare privilege of meeting him in intimate hours will tell you that nothing in this world can fill the loneliness felt at his death and that the sense of loss seems to grow with time. The privilege was rare, because he was intensely shy. To the general public he never showed himself at all. He shrank within himself, and no effort of his own could overcome his painful shyness, which he was the first to blame. But when some fortunate chance broke down the barrier of reserve that surrounded him, what a delicious world opened out.

After *My New Curate* appeared, its author was often asked to preach sermons in different parts of Ireland, and at those times even he had to accept a certain number of invitations. A friend of mine in Dublin wrote to me her joy at being asked to dinner to

meet Father Sheehan, and how at first she felt at a loss for any subject of conversation with her monosyllabic neighbour. The coveted honour was turning to disappointment, when a lucky inspiration made her describe her visit to the West to a mutual friend. At the name of his old schoolfellow, he thawed and became the most charming companion. The rest of the evening passed only too quickly. It was about that time he called on a nun in Dublin, who was at once admitted to the real Father Sheehan by reason of a mutual affection. So easy and at home was Father Sheehan in the Convent parlour, talking of old times and early days in Mallow, that the nun never realised what a shy being she was dealing with. He agreed to visit the hospital—he loved the sick and many a tender page he penned as the result of his intercourse with the suffering and the dying. He only made the condition : "Don't mention *My New Curate.*" She thought this was a joke and hastened to disobey—which she had reason to repent ; for the delightful causeur became as silent and reserved as if he had been transformed into a statue.

Years later, the nun, who had not forgotten this one glimpse of the author of *My New Curate*, visited him when he was ill in the South Infirmary, Cork. Years only brought them closer in sympathy, and the visits were a matter of rejoicing to the patient and to the visitor. She found him wasted to a shadow, the victim of cruel suffering, but full of interest in the outer world, in all religious questions, in the welfare of the poor. It was only when his own health was mentioned, or hope of recovery expressed, that he gently but firmly hinted there was no use in vain hopes. As a rule he never cared to speak of himself. His letters to his nearest friends in the dreary months of suffering that preceded his death never had a reference to his condition. The beautifully formed handwriting remained clear and firm.

Visits to the South Infirmary had been such as to leave unforgettable memories. He was so pleased to see friends. The first time I saw him in the Infirmary, he was walking about in the grounds. He sat with us, telling us of the kindness of the nuns and nurses. He was very enthusiastic over the work done by those young Irish nurses ; how hard they worked, how devoted to their duties. Of course, we all expect nuns to forget themselves and work for others, and his praise of them was only natural. But his near knowledge of the life of the nurses made him express satisfaction that they were so capable. He took us to the Chapel. To see Canon Sheehan praying was to be brought very near the Better Land, where his thoughts mostly dwelt. He told us that

Rev. Mother had put her parlour at his disposal, and thither he led the way, while a cheery nurse brought us tea. As he talked of books and congenial subjects, one forgot one was in presence of one stricken down by disease and who knew the end was near.

He had all his life been a very delicate man. He suffered greatly from depression and want of sleep. When he first became a priest, he had an utter breakdown, and spent the time with Dean Keller, whose kindness to him in those trying times he never forgot. He grew slightly better and was a curate in Mallow. He was still very poorly, and Canon Wigmore, the parish priest, showed great kindness to the young priest and to his brother. He had the two constantly to dine with him, and he delighted them with his gift of amusing stories. Indeed, in after years, with a twinkle in his eyes, the parish priest would hint that some of his funny anecdotes had found their way into *My New Curate*.

Strange to tell, in the years when Father Sheehan was in possession of fairly good health, when he had achieved distinction in the Church and in the literary world (which would have been a matter of rejoicing to the ordinary man), there was a certain sadness about him, his views and his conversation.

Only on rare occasions, with very intimate friends, did he shake off that tinge of melancholy. One evening stands out in my recollection as full of cheerfulness. We were staying in a cottage at Blarney. His brother and his wife and their little son were in the neighbourhood. We heard the good news that Canon Sheehan was coming on a visit. It was a fleeting visit. He was so absorbed by his parish duties and his literary work that he rarely took a holiday. To our delight he and his family came to us for the evening. The two brothers were devoted to one another. With their old schoolfellow and life-long friend, there was a joyous exchange of old stories, of talk of old days in Mallow. The Canon turned to some of the incidents of the days of stress and turmoil. He displayed a knowledge of their inner history which one little expected. The two schoolfellows exchanged their experiences; we sat and enjoyed, forgetting the time. How little we dreamt that evening of the shadow that was coming near our loved friend. He seemed better than he had been for years.

The next dinner we had together was in his own house. But the occasion did not allow of cheerful intimate talk. It was the day of a public meeting in Doneraile. He had hospitably invited us and all friends to his table. He was intensely interested in the success of the meeting, but did not feel equal to the strain of

presiding at the demonstration. He took me over to the Convent while the public proceedings were going on. To see Canon Sheehan among his own Doneraile nuns was an experience not to be forgotten. But on this day there was a sense of the old depression not being far off, and he was not his cheery self. Although there was no visible sign of break-up, the physical trouble that was to end his life was already making itself felt.

From the hour he knew from the mouth of a skilled specialist that he could not expect to be cured, he threw to the wind all depression and melancholy. To visit him in hospital or later in his home was to meet the cheerfullest, the kindliest of spirits. He had never much of a body, but pain and suffering had turned him into an almost etherealised being. He grew thinner and thinner. A beauty of another world shone out of his eyes, that were so bright and clear, and the smile of the pale lips became more charming as the end grew nearer.

He did not lose his interest in public affairs. The day after we came to our Mallow home a letter, in the beautiful firm writing, expressed his enthusiasm at the welcome of Mallow to his old friend and schoolfellow, and with such warmth that I foolishly drew hope from it. No dying man, I thought, could write so joyfully. I little knew. This was no ordinary man. He came nearer to the Saints we read of, and scarce recognise when we meet them. Now he is gone, I recollect so many quiet hints that proved he knew how vain were our hopes for his recovery. To all expressions of wishes for his cure he would only smile and say it was a question of time. As to pain, he never mentioned it, and turned off the conversation to the topics he loved—religious, patriotic, literary.

Our first Sunday in Mallow we went to see him. He was in his cheerfullest mood, took us over his garden, the dear garden his readers know so well—a simple poem of beauty, with quaint retreats where he sat and thought, a tiny wooden hut where he could be away from the world, a shady alley where he could walk up and down, when he was thinking on deepest subjects and did not wish to be disturbed by any outer sight. To see him standing in the garden, with the light of animation on the beautiful emaciated face, his voice so clear, his intellect so keen—it was impossible not to hope against hope. He had so much work to do that he alone could do. God would not take him away from us so soon. It had been one of our dreams for years to settle down in his neighbourhood. When away from the turmoil of politics in far-away Vallombrosa, we dreamed of a

retreat by the banks of the Blackwater, with minds free to enjoy the peace and the beauty of the woodland. Canon Sheehan wrote to us how he shared in the dream and how he saw his old schoolfellow free from public care, enjoying those literary pursuits so dear to them both.

The dream was not to be realised. We did return to the dear old spot, but with the old burden of political care—or perhaps an increased burden—and instead of the long years of comradeship between my husband and Canon Sheehan, we were to have the melancholy comfort of being by the side of our beloved friend during his last days on earth. Cruel as the anguish of losing him, the memory of those last visits is a precious possession. If I venture to lift the veil of intimacy, it is to rejoice the heart of the many who love and venerate Canon Sheehan.

When one stood in his garden with him, one felt his books very near to one's mind. It gave new beauty to many beautiful pages. But better still to see him in his sanctum, his library, with the beloved books in perfect order, the altar where he said Mass when not well enough to leave the house, and the pictures of saints all around. It was a little room, but it felt like a shrine where the Divine was very near us, poor human beings. The tall pale sufferer was bridging, under our very eyes, the distance between the two worlds.

As time went on, as his sufferings increased, so did his courage. The only difference was that he threw off all earthly things ; he was above all human troubles. He lived with God and His saints. The only other feelings, strong as death, were love of those dear to him and love of his country. He who had been so silent, became chatty and enjoyed a talk. Under the charm of his conversation, one almost forgot the tragedy that was facing us.

I think we were with him the last day he walked in his beloved garden. We had brought with us two nuns whose visits had cheered him in the Cork South Infirmary. One of them had once disobeyed his injunction of keeping the presence of the author of *My New Curate* from the knowledge of the patients of the Hospice for the Dying. It was a beautiful day of late summer, that marvellous summer of 1913, which he so enjoyed. He had often talked of his garden to his nun friends. We suggested that we could go and show it to them, to spare him the fatigue. But he insisted on coming too. He took them around. The flowers looked their brightest. The air was balmy. He told his visitors the story he was fond of telling : how it came that the Christian Brothers were his next-door-neighbours and had half the garden

that belonged long ago to the parish priest of Doneraile. Dr. Croke had preceded Canon Sheehan. He wished to bring the Christian Brothers to the parish. He asked the landlord for a site. It was in the bad old days. The landlord refused. Dr. Croke was not to be so easily disposed of. He gave half his garden to the Christian Brothers, and had soon collected enough money to build a fine school and residence for the Brothers.

The neighbourhood of the Brothers and of the Presentation Nuns was one of the great attractions of Doneraile in the eyes of Canon Sheehan. He was a constant visitor to the schools. He loved children, and children felt at home with him. He used to take special interest in the boys and girls who were making their first Communion. He would prepare them himself, and on the great morning, after Mass, he would share the girls' breakfast in the Convent. Those who had that rare treat love to speak of his great kindness to the little ones and of the sense of holiness that emanated from his presence.

As he grew weaker and less able to walk, the nuns had arranged that he should come through a field behind the presbytery to the Convent ground. He went up that path as long as he was able to be out. When we returned to Doneraile a few days after our visit with the nuns, he was too ill to see us, and we went to the Convent. We found the nuns in great distress and anxiety. For the past week they had not seen him. To add to the anguish of the situation, being an enclosed order, they could not go to him. However, they were very near in spirit to their beloved pastor in those days of suffering and in the cruel days of agony that had still to be faced.

One of the troubles of all who loved the Canon was that he would not hear of proper care. He refused a nurse, almost to the end. His sufferings in the long hours of the sleepless nights wrung all our hearts. At last he gave in and agreed to take a nurse chosen by his nuns. As constant watching was necessary, a Brother from a Nursing Home sat by him at night. By day his own brother cared for him with unceasing devotion. All that could be done by human hands was done. And yet, how little that all is ! How little the skill of the greatest doctors when the end is coming hear.

We had one happy hour together—the very last. On the occasion just mentioned he was too ill to see us. So it was a joyous surprise on our next visit to find him on the sofa, free from pain and as cheerful as a boy back from school. We only meant to stay a few minutes, but he was so perfectly at ease, talking

and listening, that the minutes flew. His countenance was eloquent of affectionate welcome. He never showed a greater literary insight than on that day. He mentioned a book that his old friend had not read. He explained to his brother, who sat at hand with affectionate watchfulness, where the book was. We admired how precise he was. He could tell on what shelf and in what exact spot it could be found. Books had been the true friends of many a busy year.

That was our last meeting. Twice we called, and he was too weak to see us. His last visitors were two of the Mallow nuns, who were admitted to his bedside. He had a passionate love for Mallow. His two sisters had lived their religious life in the Mallow Convent. Their death had only brought him nearer to the Mallow nuns. In that last interview he asked for every one of his friends in Mallow, in the Convent and out of it. A couple of days later, when we called, the end was very near. His strength was going. His brother met us as we were following the road that had become so familiar within the last weeks. He told us the Canon was not talking. All he did was to pray. He never ceased praying; the two brothers recited together all the Mysteries of the Rosary. When asked to stop for fear of his being exhausted, he only shook his head. It seemed as if the prayers, so dear and so familiar, revived his sinking strength. When we heard the details of the agony of pain that was so bravely endured, we could only feel that the end would be a merciful release. On that day, at the evening devotions in Mallow, Canon Sheehan was prayed for. Many and fervent were the prayers in the town where he was born and where all loved him.

On Rosary Sunday, at the afternoon devotions, all the people in the Mallow Church knew that news had been received from Doneraile, and when the priest in touching words asked all to pray for Canon Sheehan, there was a long sob through the church and not a dry eye as the prayers were said. He was conscious and free from pain all that Sunday, his last day on earth. At seven o'clock, as throughout the land the Rosary devotions, so dear to his heart, were beginning, he went to his reward.

Great was the sorrow throughout Ireland. He was laid to rest among his flock in Doneraile, with a whole nation mourning for her dead. He who so loved obscurity and shrank from crowds, had a funeral such as kings might envy. The outburst of national grief was one that all could share in; only those who knew what his sufferings had been, rejoiced that all pain was over.

SOPHIE O'BRIEN.

REVIEWS

Apologetics

DE REVELATIONE CHRISTIANA. Tractatus philosophico-historici. Hermannus Dieckmann, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1930. 20 M. (paper); 22 M. (cloth).

Readers of Father Dieckmann's treatise *De Ecclesia*, published in 1925, will see with regret, at the beginning of the present volume, the announcement of his premature death at the age of forty-eight. He lived to finish his work, but not to see it through the printers' hands. In this volume, taken with the previous treatise, we have from his pen a complete course of Fundamental Theology, representing his teaching of that subject in St. Ignatius College, Valkenburg.

The present work is distinguished by the same qualities that were generally commended in the earlier treatises, clear and complete treatment of each of the questions studied, wide erudition, soundness of doctrine. The questions are taken, for the most part, in the usual order. As is known, there is some difference of opinion and practice as to what should be included in this treatise of Fundamental Theology and what should be left to other sciences. The author makes his starting point the concept and necessity of religion, giving not only the usual philosophical treatment, but also a useful summary of the schools and theories of the comparative history of religions. Then follow the usual treatment of the necessity, possibility, and cognoscibility of revelation. This with the introduction occupies half the volume—three-hundred and twenty-five pages out of six-hundred and sixty. The rest is occupied by the treatise, "De Christo Legato divino." One may be inclined to wonder whether this partition of space is in proportion to the relative importance of the two parts; and in particular whether the methodological discussions about the definition of the science, its relation to other sciences, its origin, history and method, are worth the space which they so frequently occupy in works on Fundamental Theology. In the second part the author follows the practice of leaving the discussion of the authenticity of the Fontes to the Introduction to Scripture.

The discussion throughout is marked by thoroughness and completeness. The author's erudition is very wide and gives evidence of an amazing amount of work. Completeness is indeed a marked feature in the treatment of the various questions. The author not only gives his own view, but indicates also the manner in which the question has been treated by other authors. This,

together with the very numerous heterodox and rationalistic theories analysed and the copious bibliographical notes, make of this volume a most valuable instrument of work.

In the exposition of the arguments for the divine mission of Christ, the author departs somewhat from the order usually followed. Thus, for instance, the prophecies of the Old Testament are first introduced in connection with Christ's testimony to Himself. The author first considers the Messianic ideas and expectation in the Israelitic religion, and argues that in itself and in its place in the Jewish religion it bears evidence of its preternatural character; he then shows that Christ claimed to be the Messias foretold and expected. The argument from the fulfilment of the prophecies is later developed. P. O'D.

KATHOLISCH UND PROTESTANTISCH. Eine leidenschaftslose Klarstellung. Von Heribert Holzapfel, O.F.M. Herder. 1930. M. 3.40.

FR. HOLZAPFEL has undoubtedly scored a bull's eye with this book—but it seemed to the present reviewer that the bull's eye was on the wrong target! To explain: the author sets out to present objectively and dispassionately the teaching of Catholicism and Protestantism on fundamental questions of religion, such as the Bible, the Church, Justification, Grace, etc. He believes that much of the friction between Catholics and Protestants is due to ignorance and misapprehension, and his book is an attempt to explain to each the tenets of the other side. He protests in his introduction that "it is not his intention to show which party is in the right," but merely to expound fairly and without bias the two positions.

In point of fact, he has written a first-class volume of Catholic apologetics. The book is calm, courteous, scholarly, admirably thorough; the statement of the Catholic case is cogent and precise, and we think justified the claim that "there is not a word in it that could hurt Protestant feelings." But whether it be that it is a psychological impossibility for a Catholic to state falsehood in the same tone as truth, or that the author's convictions have carried him beyond his intentions, we imagine that an unprejudiced Protestant will hardly acquit Fr. Holzapfel of endeavouring to "show which party is in the right." His book is *leidenschaftslos* in the sense that it is not disfigured by any unworthy outbursts of feeling, but by no means in the sense of holding up a balance unweighted by arguments for his own faith.

It would be a matter of considerable interest to hear a Pro-

testant opinion of this book. To our mind the author has failed, partially at least, in his avowed purpose, but has achieved something far better worth while; he has given us a book of unusual persuasiveness for intending Protestant converts. D. D.

TWELVE YEARS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. John L. Stoddard. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1930. 7s. 6d.

ANYONE who has read Mr. Stoddard's previous book, *Rebuilding a Lost Faith*, will greet cordially this new volume from his pen—and will not be disappointed. *Rebuilding a Lost Faith* is one of the most valuable books of popular apologetics which we have in English, as any priest who has had an experience with converts will agree. The years which have elapsed since its publication have not been idle years for its author, who "for the last twelve years at least has done little else than read, investigate and write upon such subjects, and has translated into English from the French and German two voluminous masterpieces of theological apologetics, as well as several books on ecclesiastical history and biography."[1]

The author himself explains admirably the purpose of the present volume: "After a certain time has elapsed, in which the ardour of a convert to Catholicism may be supposed to have cooled, he is sometimes asked by former comrades in agnosticism or sectarian fellowship if he has found the Catholic Church 'all he anticipated,' and whether he has not experienced disillusions, possibly regret for the step he 'so rashly' took . . . . This little book is intended to be a partial answer to such questioners . . . . I desire to reaffirm and justify my continued and even augmented belief in those fundamental dogmas which are now so savagely denied and doubted . . . and I also affirm the absence in my heart of even the shadow of a regret that I took the step."

The present book differs in some respects from its predecessor. In both is revealed the same thoughtful, distinguished mind, whose sincerity and nobility attract the reader. In both the style rises at times to heights of beauty. But the theological reading of twelve years has done much to colour the author's thought. *Rebuilding a Lost Faith* was more popular, more personal and more vivid than its new companion; *Twelve Years* is the more thorough, the gentler, the more persuasive of the two. The questions treated are the age-long questions "Christ

[1] Fr. Prat's *Theology of St. Paul* and Fr. Hilarin Felder's *Christ and the Critics*, as well as several books on ecclesiastical history and biography.

and the Church." "Did Christ claim to be the Son of God?", "The Authenticity of the Gospels," "Catholic *versus* Secular Education," "Why Rome could not go to Lausanne," are some of the chapter-headings, and they reveal the character of the book.

But its spirit is better conveyed by another quotation: "And when I was still afar off, my Father saw me and came to me, and, as I fell on my knees before Him, He lifted me up, supported me, and led me tenderly to the home for which I yearned. It was the eleventh hour . . . . And I fell upon my knees and worshipped Him, and said: 'Father, what wilt thou have me to do?' And he said: 'Rebuild for yourself and others what you have cast down.' And I obeyed, and have been working in His vineyard ever since, and pray that I may labour thus unto the end."

One cannot wish too heartily a wide circulation for this earnest book. D. D.

Biography

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. By G. F. Lahey, S.J. London: Oxford University Press. 1930. 7s. 6d.

ONE infers from the modesty of its *format* and of its style that this book does not pretend to be the definitive biography so long hoped for. It is at least a charming and valuable essay, and outlines with substantial truth, both as a poet and a Jesuit, the greatest of Jesuit poets. But as a biography it has two faults of omission: it concentrates his early history almost entirely around his relations to two or three great men (a consequence, perhaps, of very full documentation), and it confines to a summary eight pages the drama of University College, Dublin, in which Hopkins' public life reached its climax. Also there are a few slips of detail. Fr. Finlay (whose name is misspelt) is not a convert. Arnold was hardly a "staunch old convert," for he had lapsed from the Church for ten years just before he, once more a Catholic, met Gerard Hopkins. Jesuit theologians have an open mind on both Thomism and Scotism. And "all-throughter" on page 98 is surely not "all through the other" but "all-throughother," the North of Ireland (and Gaelic) phrase curiously equivalent to the German *durcheinander*. Yet Fr. Lahey deserves gratitude not least for his documentation. An heroic strife of souls is revived in these sad but resolute letters of the Oxford converts, who left friend and home and tradition to follow through the wilderness a star. And after them, with a like heroism but with an air peculiar to himself of graceful puzzlement, Gerard Hopkins passed

through the world as one would imagine a stray angel to pass through a race-meeting.

The critical chapters arouse that friendly antagonism that good criticism often provokes. There is hero-worship here, but it is too intelligent to be *Schwärmerei*, too self-forgetful to be party-spirit. Gerard Hopkins was distinguished amongst mystical poets by seeking God in visible beauty rather than in its abnegation. His eyes analysed every object until they wrung from it its full confession of praise. This is the thing about him that matters, not his metre, nor his imagery, nor his vocabulary. These things were only instruments for the celebration of his heaven's-quest. He knew (we see it in his practice) that his technique must be supple as emotion is various, which is as various as thought, even the thought of God deducible from creatures. Hence he forged perhaps the largest technical armoury of any modern English poet. But he never used a device that had not meaning in it. Fr. Lahey's remarks on technique certainly make clearer the obscure theory of Hopkins. But they do not insist sufficiently on his strict subordination, in practice, of technique to subject, of the means of expression to the thing to be expressed. Hopkins had no part with the jazz-poets of to-day who first compose their rhythm and then find ideas (or more often just words) to fit it; every device he used was significant.

Also I should think that Hopkins will suffer by being compared with Shelley, Tennyson, and Cowper to their disparagement. Even the monumental *Loss of the Royal George* is here called tame!

But I must end on a note of praise for a book that has given me such delight. Its defects, as I say, are mostly of omission. Let us hope that Fr. Lahey will give us that fuller portrait for which his talents singularly fit him, as this fine sketch has proved. Meanwhile he has written the best work on Gerard Hopkins that has yet appeared, a book that says or implies all the essential things. To read it is to feel an impulse, almost a need, of reading Hopkins—or of re-reading him. *Cras amet qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet!* A. L.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS IN THE SECOND PUNIC WAR. By Howard H. Scullard, Ph.D. Thirlwall Prize Essay, 1929. Cambridge University Press. 1930. 12s. 6d. net.

It is surprising, when we consider that Scipio Africanus was one of the three or four greatest men in ancient history, one of its most attractive characters, and a man for the writing of whose life abundant materials exist, that until the last few years so little

has been written about him in English. In 1926 Captain Liddell Hart produced a work under the surprising but not altogether too unjustifiable title *A Greater than Napoleon*, in which his career was examined from a military point of view. Dr. Scullard has now devoted a thoroughly scientific and critical monograph to that part of it which fell in the period of the Second Punic War. He is not so expert a writer as his predecessor, but makes up for his disadvantages in that respect by being a trained historian. He has evidently spent considerable labour in analysing and digesting the large amount of " Quellenforschung " that has been done by German scholars on the original documents relating to Scipio and his time. Although he comes to the reasonable enough conclusion that the best kind of Quellenforschung is merely common sense, and that no mysterious efficacy attaches to its sometimes not too sensible methods, it is clear that he has profited greatly by the study, and his book is all the more useful for it.

The chief source for our knowledge of Scipio is Polybius, himself a soldier and statesman of much experience, an intimate of Scipio's lesser namesake Scipio Aemilianus, and a remarkably sound historian, who wrote good sense in the style of an act of parliament at a time when others were writing nonsense in elegant Greek. In the case of Scipio his testimony is of peculiar value, because, like Alexander the Great and Napoleon, Scipio had his Legend, which began its growth almost in his lifetime. Polybius was hostile to legends on general principles, and to the Scipionic legend in particular ; and he put forward his own explanation of Scipio's extraordinary successes as due rather to almost inhuman calculation than to the divine favour of which the legend was full. It is curious that whereas in Alexander's case the legend told ultimately against him, causing him to be presented as a megalomaniac young man, in Scipio's case it was Polybius, with his rationalist correction of all fanciful glorifications, that did a disservice to his hero in the end, so that even in Livy he appears to us as somewhat of a prig. Dr. Scullard is careful to allow due weight to both sides of the story. He points out that Polybius in his anxiety to correct a false tendency, put in place of it not at all the truth but an artificial construction of his own. Scipio was himself a greater man than either his superstitious or his rationalist admirers made him out to be, and it was the union of the mystic and the man of affairs in his character that made him the peer of Alexander, Hannibal, and Caesar.

Dr. Scullard begins well by using the work of recent German writers like Münzer and Schur to explain the complexion of Roman

politics in Scipio's time and the very interesting and important part played by the rivalries of a few great families. His account of the capture of New Carthage is largely based on Strachan-Davidson, but he has been over the ground himself, and is able to give an explanation of the famous crux about the crossing of the lagoon which seems to dispose of most of its difficulties. In describing the battles of Baecula and Ilipa, and the final campaign in Africa, he leaves no theory or objection unaccounted for, and his discussions of various minor points will be found by students a very useful and necessary auxiliary to the study of either Livy or Captain Liddell Hart. The book concludes with a chapter on "The Soldier, the Man and his Work," which sums up Scipio's remarkable military achievements, his innovation in the higher command and in the character of the army, his admirable progressive adaptations of Hannibal's strategy and tactics, till he finally destroyed him by turning the tables of Cannae, his quality as a distant forerunner of the best Caesars, conscious of a really Imperial mission other than conquest and exploitation, and his great influence on Roman culture and society. A curious comparison is drawn between him and Lord Curzon, whom the author evidently admires. The resemblance seems to be largely confined to the fact that both men were at once very simple and attractive as well as cold and superior, talking to their colleagues "like a divinity addressing black beetles." Apart from this it is somewhat of an anti-climax, for Scipio was, whether by chance or by genius, a world-force, whereas Curzon, to say the least of it, was not. It is a pity that Dr. Scullard should shake our confidence in his historical acumen by appending so grotesque a parallel to a valuable book. M. T.

FORTUNAT. Par L'Abbé Tardi. Paris: Boivin. 1927. Pp. xvi+288. 45 fr.

Abbe Tardi's book has for sub-title "Étude d'un dernier représentant de la poésie latine dans la Gaule mérovingienne," and this aspect will make it welcome to the student whose interests lead him into the bypaths of classical Latin. However, its importance is not confined to the sphere of literature, for it is based on a very thorough study of the whole background against which the poet's life was cast, and is thus of equal interest to the student of history.

Fortunatus is well known by his two famous hymns—"Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis" and "Vexilla regis prodeunt" two compositions which might well serve to make a poet's fortune. His life, however, on account of the light which a study of it can

throw upon the age in which he lived, presents a much wider field of interest than belongs to most poets. It is this aspect of Abbé Tardi's work that in our opinion gives it the undeniable merits it possesses.

As a poet Fortunatus may be fairly said not to merit on the whole praise for anything more important than the power of facile imitation. The two hymns already mentioned constitute his greatest claim to fame as a poet. As to the rest of the works that stand under his name, whatever be their merit or interest, it is not on the whole due to their purely literary quality. We may seek in them details as to the life of the period, or we may value them for philological and linguistic purposes, but they cannot escape the brand of inferiority which belongs to all purely imitative writing and is an essential characteristic of an age of literary decadence.

Fortunatus had travelled much and had much interesting experience. He ended his life a bishop and a good and truly devout Christian, but he was not a heroic character. Much of his work is made up of flatteries of the great—flatteries all the more discreditable to him when one recalls the characters of the objects of much of his flatteries. He was preeminently a court-poet, and one speedily tires of his forced praises. Abbé Tardi stresses rightly this part of his work. Nevertheless his writing has its importance in the history of literature, and this side of the Abbé's work is marked by the same thoroughness which characterises the other sides of his work.

We may say with truth that readers of this book will not be disappointed whether they take it up from purely literary interest, or with the more fruitful purpose of seeking in literature for a criticism of life. W. J. W.

LA LEGENDE DOREE AU DELA DES MERS. Collection "La Vie Chrétienne." Paris: Grasset. 1930. 12 fr.

La Légende Dorée is beyond question a golden book for the missiologist, indeed for anyone with a heart still young enough to be thrilled by stories of heroism for Christ. We have no word in English which gives the sense at once of "history" and of "story," and hence we have no single word to describe these essays of mission history. If strict historical accuracy make history, then these pages must be classed under "H"; but if "fine deeds of derring-do," of lofty courage and fearless purpose constitute a story, we have here romance as fine as any ever penned.

This book is a collection of fourteen episodes from the history

of the missions, introduced by an admirable little foreword by Maurice Vaussard. The sketches differ very widely in subject and in authorship, but all are first class. Names like George Goyau, Henri Ghéon and Père Charles, S.J., are in themselves a guarantee of excellence; and their essays on Blessed Michael Ghébré, on the Pekinese Martyrs, and on Fr. Vaz, the Apostle of Ceylon, do not disappoint one's expectations. Most of the themes, of course, will not be new to anyone at all versed in mission literature; however, one is glad to have them collected into one volume and so excellently treated. And "Le Roi Galâwdêwos" by Jean Soulairol, a fascinating study from Ethiopian history, will break new ground for many. The most astonishing story of all, perhaps, is the last in the volume, "Le Martyre du Fumeur d'Opium" by Pierre-Xavier Mertens, reprinted (unless a none-too-accurate memory plays one false) from the mission periodical of the French Jesuits, *Chine, Ceylan, Madagascar*. Few will ever forget the figure of the old Chinese patriarch who could not or would not conquer his passion for opium. The weary sinner felt that his only hope of salvation lay in martyrdom, and for years despite his sins he never ceased to pray. And when at length the Boxers came, he met them, and met death and torture at their hands with the smiling fearlessness of a man who realized that this was his hour of triumph.

One hopes that this book will be made accessible to other readers by being translated. D. D.

Education

SCHOOLS OF TO-DAY. Present Problems of English Education. By Bolton King. London: Dent. 1929. Pp. 112. 3s. 6d. net.

This compact, terse, and business-minded little book is based by its writer on twenty-four years experience as Director of Education in the County of Warwick. Though it exhibits candidly enough the characteristic bias in favour of Council Schools, of undenominational teaching, and argues in favour of co-education, especially at the adolescent period, it will be found unusaully helpful in questions now emerging in the politics of English State Education. This is largely due to Mr. King's excellent emphasis on the claims, needs, and chronically unjust treatment of the rural and village schools as regards teachers in them as well as pupils, and as regards organisation of classes quite as much as school buildings. Such a presentation of the major problem of English education is quite unusual: the overgrown

urban school dominates all writing on this complex subject. Mr. King could do good service by concentrating on this major problem and producing a fuller treatise.

On the main impulses of the new and accepted movement Mr. King's views, taken singly, are clear. But taken collectively, they are at times not easy to adjust. He presses the arguments for continued education up to 15 years of age, though all the intrinsic reasons would plead for 16 years as the true terminal point. But he explicitly urges also the argument that it is necessary to take boys and girls off the labour market, 14 to 16 years of age, because this will compel the employment of some ten per cent. of the now unemployed adult population of England. Indeed this latter situation, a purely economic issue, seems to be the mainspring of the whole movement for extending the school age. Educational reasons are to all appearance merely ancillary and accidental.

The same divergent trend of arguments besets the problem of the Council Secondary Schools and the Council Central Schools. Both take over boys and girls at the age-period of 11-12 years, on which "dividing line in mental development"—"all educationists are agreed." Their great discovery is certainly quite recent; and it has a suspicious air of being found useful as an auxiliary argument for a policy devised for other reasons, motives, and ends. The Council Central School, Mr. King argues, is equal to the Council Secondary School in tone, equal and often better far in teaching quality (page 30); but he immediately affirms that "it is difficult to enlist teachers of good enough calibre" for the Central School; that the latter has markedly inferior buildings, equipment, salary scales, and allowances for working costs. It has "the official stamp of inferiority" put on it by the Central Board of Education," the same Board that says it is not to be regarded as "an inferior substitute for the Council Secondary School." Again, Mr. King (p. 28) says that "it is clearly impossible to provide for all Council School pupils at Council Secondary Schools" because of the costs: and adds at once that Council Secondary Schools "do not provide the best entry into life for the average child." These varying tendencies might, by an unkind critic, be held to arise from a possible new development in England of a class or social dividing line even between State Schools, such as already has so deeply affected French and German State Systems of Education. The emergence of a "Selective Central School" (pp. 27-28) is rather ominous in this connection. T.C.

LE CATHOLICISME. Ses Pédagogues, sa Pédagogie. Par Fr. De Hovre, D.Phil., Professeur de Pédagogie à Anvers. Traduit d'après l'édition flamande par G. Simeons. Préface de F. W. Foerster. Bruxelles : Dewit. 1930. Pp. 462. 35 fr.

THIS new and most important volume is the complement to Dr. De Hovre's recent work on Modern Systems of Educational Philosophy, noticed in these pages at the time of its appearance. The earlier treatise presented a systematic analysis of contemporary non-Catholic theories of Education since the rise of the doctrines of pedagogic naturalism in the days of Quinet and Comte. Dr. De Hovre now offers a positive statement of Catholic positions, conjoined with the exposition of the views of five recent Catholic writers. We have no hesitation in advising the thorough study of this work of 1930, no less than of its predecessor, in all advanced courses of education in Catholic centres of learning.

The two main sections into which this sustained investigation of Catholic action on education falls in no way prevent it being a well-ordered unit. This unity of plan and process, so essential in any work of its scope, is well secured by Dr. De Hovre's structural design. The finest sections are the first (75 pages) and the last (50 pages) ; and they are those which are most fully the author's own. They deal with basic laws, with ideals and realities, and with the specific attitudes of Catholic truth in face of modern aberrations. Between these two parts are inserted five others of very unequal length and importance. Five modern Catholic writers are dealt with. Bishop Spalding gets 40 pages, Bishop Dupanloup also 40, Newman no less than 130, Cardinal Mercier only 10, and Otto Willmann 110. It is obvious enough that the two longer among these five sections, based on extensive, accurate, and well-ordered quotations from specified sources, will be of great and permanent value to students. They are rather expository and appreciative than critical, for Dr. De Hovre is catholic in his likings, and is not inclined to stress the limitations of any body of theory, to sift its assumptions, and to dissect its modifications as due to individual experience.

There is not a little, therefore, that the advanced critical student will find himself inclined to qualify, and even to rectify, in Dr. De Hovre's eager and enthusiastic pages. He will do his best work when his writings elicit such forms of mental action in his readers. No Catholic, for instance, will be bound to accept Mercier's interpretation of the Philosophy of the Schools as applied to Education, any more than one is required to accept

Willmann's extremely conservative theory of Education as the conduit of racial and national traditions, with no explicit provision for the ever-present duty of re-statement, change, excision. Still less will he be disposed to accept Newman's very individual, very isolated doctrine of Liberal Education, confessedly derived from the residual and deformed stump of what was once a great Catholic, Democratic, Professional University. It may be doubted if either Spalding or Dupanloup attained permanent values in their writings on Education, while it is clear that Cardinal Mercier could easily have become a powerful constructive force had the great Institute which he created been set in organic connection with Catholic education within Belgium—primary, secondary and higher.

We look forward to Dr. De Hovre's full, positive, applied Philosophy of Education, in the ample detail requisite for effective application in progressive Catholic education within the Belgium of to-day. T. C.

History

ANCIENT CORINTH. Part I.—From the Earliest Times to 404 B.C. By J. G. O'Neill, Ph.D. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press. London : Milford. 1930. 5 Dollars.

THE explorations of the American School of Archaeology at Corinth, begun as long ago as 1896 and still continuing at the present time, have produced a great amount of precise knowledge about the topography and history of the ancient city and its territory. Until the appearance of the book under review, practically the only means of becoming even slightly acquainted with the results of these explorations was the study of numerous reports in American and German periodicals. Dr. O'Neill has thus had an opportunity of doing valuable service in a task for which he was excellently equipped. Having won the Travelling Studentship of the National University, part of his work for which was a dissertation on Corinth, he made himself thoroughly acquainted on the spot with the American excavations. His book is therefore the first authoritative account of the city's early history, based on the latest evidence available. It covers the period from the Bronze Age to the end of the Peloponnesian War. As is well known, Corinth was savagely destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C., and its sack marked the end of an age in Greek history. Dr. O'Neill hopes in a second volume to bring his account down to the fatal year 146. The Roman period, from the city's restoration by Caesar onwards, demands a special treatment for itself.

Unfortunately for archaeology, the destruction wrought by Mummius and his legionaries was so thorough that only the very scantiest material remains of the city's greatest age were left untouched. Its treasures, the accumulated fruit of many centuries during which it was renowned for its wealth, were completely plundered ; and even of its monuments so little survived that the Americans in 1898 were the first to identify its famous fountain, Peirene, and that the landmarks of its Agora and certain minor shrines were only with difficulty discovered. It was the Americans also who definitely cleared up a variety of uncertainties about the Temple of Apollo, whose seven pillars for long formed the only indication on her site of Corinth's ancient greatness. Dr. O'Neill gives us a full account of the remains of early Corinth, and lingers with evident enjoyment over her towering mountain-fortress Acrocorinthus, from whose summit can be taken in an immense view bounded only by Parnassus in the North and by the Argolic and Arcadian mountains to the South.

His chapter on prehistoric Corinth is valuable as providing a convenient and thorough summary of a most interesting controversy, which raged for five years between the late Dr. Walter Leaf and the American archaeologists, led by Dr. Carl Blegen. Dr. Leaf maintained that Corinth was unoccupied in Mycenaean times, and that all supposed references to it in Homer were post-Homeric accretions. The argument was involved in the fate of the Homeric "Catalogue," which has now finally been rescued from Leaf's condemnation as an apocryphal document. It has been clearly demonstrated that at least the territory of Corinth was a very thickly populated region from the Late Stone Age onwards, and Leaf's thesis, in so far as it concerned Homeric exegesis, is universally discredited. It is curious to note, however, that the most recent report of a series of Corinthian graves, extending from Neolithic times to the late classical period, indicates a gap for exactly the stage at which Leaf claimed Corinth did not exist.

Dr. O'Neill next proceeds to an examination of the evidences as to the cults and legends of the early city. He shows that the stories of a Phoenician foundation have as little to support them here as elsewhere in Greece, and that the well-known peculiarity of the Corinthian cult of Aphrodite is not at all necessarily Semitic in origin, but has parallels elsewhere in the Aegean area and in Asia Minor. It belongs, in fact, to the same pre-Greek religious stratum from which the worship of Aphrodite herself in general appears to derive.

The scanty fragments of historical material, which are all that we possess for early Corinthian history, are next pieced together, and Dr. O'Neill deals soberly and critically with the theories of imaginative historians like Curtius, who made a seductive but unsound picture out of little or nothing. His chapter on the tyrants perhaps errs in being if anything too sober. There is much even in what we do know of Periander to inspire a more lively account than is here given of "the mightiest man in the Europe of his time." The part played by Corinth in the Persian wars is represented on somewhat conventional lines. It is hard to believe that the same city, which a generation or so later seems to have carried on quite a complicated series of political manoeuvres in the wars against Athens, could have committed itself to the ostrich-like policy of a defensive fight at the Isthmus against the armies of Xerxes. The fact is that we know too little about even the fifth century to pass secure judgements on political motives which are not immediately obvious. This applies to the events described by Thucydides as well as to those described by Herodotus. Most of the modern theories about the true cause of the Peloponnesian War suffer from the fact that the imaginations of the theorists have to work in what is practically a vacuum. Dr. O'Neill does well to discount the doctrines about trade-routes, "Piraeus-parties" and so forth, that were recently so fashionable, and to stick to what little we do know. At the same time he is hardly quite just to the modern analysis of Thucydides, and it is remarkable that he does not mention Schwartz. It does seem fair enough to hold, not that Thucydides knew less than we do, but that on the evidence of his own work he changed his mind during the course of thirty years about the origins of a war whose aims altered considerably in that time. Dr. O'Neill is undoubtedly right, however, in emphasising Corinth's paramount share in causing a calamity which was as disastrous to ancient civilisation, and as inexplicable in retrospect, as the Great War has been to our modern world. Scholars everywhere will look forward to the completion of a scholarly piece of work which reflects the greatest credit on Maynooth College and on the National University.

M. T.

A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN JAMAICA. By Francis X. Delany, S.J. New York: Jesuit Mission Press. 1930. $2.50.

FATHER DELANY has given us the first reasonably complete history of the Church in Jamaica; and he has added to our

gratitude by making the sources of his narrative plain. For the early period of the Spanish occupation, 1494—1655, there are apparently no available records on the island. But the Chairman of the Jamaican Institute, Mr. J. L. Pieterz, has permitted Father Delany to make free use of extracts made by himself from the *Archivo General de Indias* at Seville. For the next hundred years and more there is little or nothing to tell, but the story is resumed with the revival of Catholic activities in the West Indies towards the end of the eighteenth century; and here Father Delany has been able to use a manuscript account of the mission, written in or about the year 1856 and still preserved on the island. For the rest of the story there is abundant evidence.

These facts are worth noting, as readers of the able articles recently contributed to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* by Father R. Devas, O.P., will remember his complaints concerning the two great obstacles to historical research in these semi-tropical islands: "the negligent indifference of men in preserving registers and records, and the amazing industry of insects in devouring and destroying them." On the whole fate has been kindly to the records of Jamaica, and Father Delany has a tolerably complete story to tell. The documents that throw light on the first period are mainly concerned, as is usual in all such official records, with questions of disputed jurisdiction and the like. Plainly the Spanish authorities were anxious to promote the interests of the Catholic Church; no less plainly did they fail in their mission. The last record of Spanish ecclesiastical rule is the arrest and deportation to Spain of the last Abbot of Jamaica in 1650. When Penn and Venables landed in the island five years later, there were some priests at work in the impoverished colony, but no ecclesiastical superior. The English terms of occupation included an article that forbade the presence of any priest, but more than one remained with the remnant of their flock for a few years more. Under James II. seven Spanish priests were allowed to work among the Catholic inhabitants, but an English priest, Father Thomas Churchill, came out with the Duke of Albermarle; there was a quarrel, the Englishman denounced the Spaniards as traitors, and the mission was broken up.

The next hundred years are a blank, though I suspect that some interesting material lies unworked in the records of the English Colonial Office. Cromwell's government sent Irish boys and girls to the island as bond servants, and the stream of Irish emigration to the West Indies was continued throughout the eighteenth century. An American scholar, Mr. Pitman, has shown recently

what has yet to be done for the history of the West Indies during this period, and the Irish element can never have been negligible. So it is less of an accident than might at first appear that the first priest recorded on the Jamaican mission after the revival in 1792 is an Irish Franciscan, Father Anthony Quigly; and the man in Rome most interested in the fortunes of the Catholic residents in the West Indies at this time is an Irish Dominican, Father Luke Concannon, who was consecrated first Bishop of New York in 1808, but died at Naples when he was due to sail for the New World. Other Irish names are prominent in this portion of Father Delany's work—not all to the credit of our countrymen. For here as elsewhere some of the Irish priests who volunteered for the American mission proved troublesome at first, and there was the inevitable brief schism for four years in Jamaica thanks to the indiscretions of a Father Edmund Murphy. But things steadied down soon, amazingly soon when one reflects on the cosmopolitan character of the whole community. French, Irish, English, Spanish and native Jamaicans—all went to make the Catholic colony, both as priests and laymen, and one Irish name deserves special mention: the Hon. Anthony Dowell O'Reilly, of Knock Abbey, Co. Louth, who was Attorney-General on the island during the years of reconstruction.

From 1847 to 1894 Jamaica was entrusted to the English Jesuit Fathers as a special mission, though the records show that priests still served on the island from all parts of the globe. Then came a change. The American Fathers of the Society were called to the work in 1894, and they have been there ever since. The story of their activities fills nearly two-thirds of this volume, and the mission is plainly flourishing. Indeed Father Delany has written this *History* mainly to interest American Catholics in the fine work that is being done there by their own fellow-countrymen. We wish him and them all success. A. G.

SELECTED ESSAYS OF J. B. BURY. Edited by Harold Temperley. Cambridge: University Press. 1930. 12s. 6d.

THE republication of these ten essays, only one of which was in print, will be warmly welcomed by all students of history and by the great number of scholars and readers who have come within the wide scope of their author's teaching. Five of them are concerned with the theory of history-writing, and include the Inaugural of 1903 and the famous "Cleopatra's Nose" of 1916. Two are contributions to the Rationalist Press Annual, and illustrate a very characteristic side of Bury's thought. Three,

which occupy more than half of the book and are probably that part of it which will have most permanent value, deal with his own special subject, the Byzantine Empire. The lecture on the Constitution of the Later Roman Empire, although quite brief, was a work of fundamental importance on an obscure subject, and showed all Bury's power of amassing illuminating details. The essays on the Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos form in themselves an excellent treatise, which, with its full account of the sources, deserves to be studied even alongside the fourth volume of the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*.

The general reader will perhaps be most interested in the first group. The doctrine that " History is a science, no less and no more," set forth so determinedly in the Inaugural Lecture, gave rise to a considerable controversy, and though the present holder of Bury's chair has vindicated Clio's divine right to the title of Muse, it is still worth while to understand what Bury meant by it and why he formulated it with such sharpness. As Mr. Temperley points out in his Introduction, Bury meant to react against two cognate conceptions of history, which were familiar to him from his Greek studies ; the treatment of it as a branch of Rhetoric and its use as a means for direct instruction in the art of politics. He wished to broaden the basis of historical study ; but just as he went too far in his neglect of the art of literary presentation and in his exclusive interest in what is after all largely philology, so he went too far in his radical condemnation of all philosophical judgment and in his oblivion of the fact that his own " rationalism " was itself based on a very shaky philosophy, as well as being in decisive conflict with his persistent optimism. The " contingency theory " which is set forth in the Essay on " Cleopatra's Nose " is equally narrow, for instance in its attempt to put personality on the same level with physical characteristics, and equally short-sighted in the optimism which declares that social development tends to become more and more logical. Bury could not see that, in making Platonism depend " on the character of Plato's brain " and therefore be on a level, as a logical development of Socratic teaching, with the systems of Aristippus and Eucleides, he was emptying logic of all its validity.

The fact is that in spite of his vast learning and acute mind, Bury was in no sense of the word a fruitful philosophical teacher or serious thinker. In his Essay on the trial of Socrates, contributed to the Rationalist Press Annual for 1926 and here reprinted, he concludes that Socrates came to the decision to abide by his fate as the result of " a hedonistic calculation." " It was a

rational choice between two fates—between death, of which neither he nor anyone else knew the nature or meaning, and banishment, of which he had calculated the probable pains and miseries." To anyone at all familiar with the character of Socrates or with the text of the *Apology*, this interpretation is so misleading that one wonders whether Bury put it forward seriously, or was in earnest with this odd preference for the crude speculations of Xenophon. The same lack of any objective sense of values is evident in the Essay on "Freedom of Thought and the Censorship," where he lays down one code of procedure for "the sphere of argumentative debate" and the opposite code for "the sphere of arms." "*Fiat justitia, ruat caelum*," he says, "is a maxim which would lose its validity in a case where the catastrophe involved the disappearance of justice itself." The exponent of such sophistry is more akin to Protagoras than to Socrates, more the preacher of Fashion than the discoverer of a philosophy of history. Both in his narrow conception of his subject as a science and in his attempt to base it on unreason, Bury was a typical product of a sophistic age. In saying this, we do not forget that Protagoras, Hippias, and their fellows were men of great learning and culture. M. T.

Literature Mediaeval and Modern

MEDIAEVAL LATIN LYRICS. By Helen Waddell. London: Constable. 1929. Pp. viii + 352. 21s. net.

THE OXFORD BOOK OF MEDIEVAL LATIN VERSE. Chosen by Stephen Gaselee. London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. xiv + 250. 8s. 6d. net.

IN a notice in *Studies* of Miss Waddell's charming book *The Wandering Scholars*, the hope was expressed that her next venture would be to give her readers an anthology of that poetry of which she had written so attractively. In the present book she has brought together a considerable selection of the verse of the period that extends from the time of Fortunatus to the days of the Vagantes Scholares. And it must be admitted, subject to certain reservations and qualifications, that the book is an acceptable addition to the collections available to the ordinary reader interested in a rather remarkable and commonly misunderstood era of poetic development.

As to the reservations and qualifications, it may be said at once that anthologies are eminently books of personal choice, and the chooser has an undoubted right to his or her preferences,

but so also has the reader. Miss Waddell's book has its inclusions and omissions that not everyone will approve—this she very frankly admits in her preface—but it will be generally admitted that she has accomplished her task in many places with brilliance, and in all places with skill and merit.

Her gifts as a translator are sufficiently remarkable to make it well worth the reader's while to go through her versions for the sake of the enjoyment they cannot fail to afford. At her best —which is very often—she is capable of writing with a genuine poetic power and feeling, which shows that she might well claim poetry as her real vocation as a writer. But she may always be relied on to translate with a dexterity and nimbleness of wit that it is not easy to parallel.

Her translations are happiest when she is dealing with the secular poetry, not to say profane, of the wandering scholars. Her versions are in general redolent of the very atmosphere and flavour which characterise the literature of these predecessors of Villon. In fact, one may say that Miss Waddell's own literary predilections would not have unfitted her for high place among the Goliardic band, and one thinks that her work would have held an honoured place in the MS. of Benedictbeuren from which she has made choice of much that exhibits her felicity as a translator.

Her omissions include some of the very best poetry and the most characteristic of the medieval age. Her inclusions are too often merely of academic interest, showing no doubt the writer's skill in catching up the manner of his model of the classical period. No doubt this is interesting as evidence of the range of medieval culture, but most of it lacks the salt of originality, and is not characteristic of the real soul of the middle ages. This is to be found at its best in the glorious hymns that are written in Latin, but in a new mode that marks the real triumphs in original poetry. Apart altogether from their religious interest, they are of the highest importance to the student of poetic evolution. But Miss Waddell's interest is not in them ; they have the Goliardic externals, but they differ from them in essential qualities. One may regret the limitations which have kept a translator of her power away from such masterpieces, but one may nevertheless be more than grateful for what this book gives, and for the genuine originality and power that have gone to its making.

Mr. Gaselee's collection differs in spirit and manner from Miss Waddell's. He gives his readers merely the texts with short

notes, but his range of choice is much wider, covering more than 1,200 years and embracing poetry profane and religious, though the number of poems in the two books differs but very slightly—Miss Waddell's being 98 and Mr. Gaselee's 111. Nevertheless, Mr. Gaselee is the more representative anthologist—even if he has confined himself—some will say too strictly—to English compositions. His collection includes many of the great glories of medieval religious poetry, and this is another way of saying many of the great glories of the religious poetry of all time. He frankly acknowledges his debt to many other collectors and commentators, notably to Miss Waddell's *Wandering Scholars*.

This book would make a good introduction to the poetry of the period. It does not suffer from the handicap which makes such an interesting collection as that of Trench unsatisfactory by reason of its omissions on purely doctrinal grounds, and it includes enough of the purely secular poetry of the period to whet the reader's appetite for more.

It remains only to say that the format of the book is what one expects from the Press of its provenance—and when one is speaking of an "Oxford Book" this is sufficient commendation.

W. J. W.

MEDIAEVAL CULTURE. An Introduction to Dante and his Times. By Karl Vossler. Translated by William Cranston Lawton. 2 vols. London: Constable. 1929. 31s. 6d.

ONLY a German could have written this book, and few but Germans will be able to read it with pleasure. True, the cover informs us that Benedetto Croce has spoken of "this great work," and holds that it "should show the way to a better method of criticism of Dante." But then Herr Vossler is plainly an admirer and disciple, albeit an independent disciple, of the great Benedetto. To the uninitiated those parts of Vossler's work which bear traces of his master's influence will probably be the most difficult, and in the long run the least profitable. But at least there is plenty else besides.

Volume I opens with a comparison between Goethe's *Faust* and Dante's *Divina Commedia*. To the German reader this may perhaps seem inevitable; but for my part I should have preferred less Goethe and more Dante. Then comes an amazing section. To understand the religious background of Dante's poem, we are taken back to the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, and thus on to the Israelites, Persians and Greeks. A new section

begins with Christianity, and takes us through the New Testament and the Fathers to Saint Bernard and Saint Francis. At this point Dante seems to emerge dimly from the mist—but not at all. Section II brings us back to ancient Greek philosophy, then on past Saint Augustine and the Universals to Aquinas. Once again Dante emerges, but we are not yet free. Ethics and Politics bring us back again to the Greeks, and I must frankly confess that my patience gave out long before the end of Volume I brought me to a lot of dreary stuff about Dante's personality, duly subdivided into subsections on the Mystical Lover, the Patriot, the Practical Man, etc., etc.

Volume II is decidedly more useful, and I have read with interest the account of the Literary Background against which the *Divina Commedia* becomes more intelligible. In particular the account of mediaeval French and Italian literature is well done and genuinely helpful. Then we are off again into speculations about the Bible, Apocalyptics, Allegory, Humanism, and I know not what. The study of those individual poets who are known to have had direct influence on Dante's style is again more helpful; and the whole work closes with a detailed analysis of the *Divina Commedia*, canto by canto. Here Herr Vossler is at his best at times, and at times can be most irritating. His commentary abounds in acute remarks, and he plainly has a fine conception of the great poem as a whole. But there is far too much Croce, even here where Dante is the main centre of interest. And the volume closes with a forty page Bibliography that could only have been perpetrated in America. A.G.

LATIN THOUGHT DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. By Cesare Foligno. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1929. 5s. net. Pp. viii + 120.

Mr. Foligno's book is one of the many indications of the increasing interest taken by our own age in the life and achievement of the Middle Ages. The writer limits himself to the modest rôle of introducing his readers to some of the forces that so profoundly influenced man's thought and feelings in the thousand years or so that followed the fall of the Roman Empire of the West. All through this period, as Mr. Foligno's book makes clear, a tremendous force was exercised by Latin thought—"Rome had become the centre of Christianity, and had always remained the centre of the world, the starting-point and the ideal of the medieval world."

Mr. Foligno tells in compressed, but very attractive fashion

the story of the manner in which this influence made itself felt throughout the whole medieval period. He quotes the lines inscribed by St. Isidore of Seville over his library :—

> Sunt hic plura sacra, sunt hic mundalia plura ;
> Ex his, si qua placent carmina, tolle, lege.
> Hic geminae radiant veneranda volumina legis,
> Condita sunt pariter hic nova cum veteri.

And these lines, descriptive of St. Isidore's own outlook, ought well be applied to that of every cultivated medieval man.

Necessarily some space is devoted to the attitude of the Church towards the culture of paganism. The reader is referred to St. Jerome's famous dream, and of course Gregory the Great is not left unmentioned. We should not agree with Mr. Foligno that Gregory may be rightly quoted as "evidence of the antagonism of the Church to heathen learning." Gregory's famouss entence (which the book does not quote)—Nam sicut huius epistolae tenor enunciat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs motusque et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo ut verba coelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati—shows that his contempt for classical grammar did not prevent his bringing from his studies no slight tincture of the rhetoric of the ancient schools. At any rate, the tone of Gregory and of others, truly interpreted, does not mean hostility to culture as such, but rather impresses the incompatibility between the ideals of life as expressed in pagan literature and those of Christianity. These early Christians had to fight hard for their cause, and paganism died hard, and not the least important of its strongholds was the literature of the classical period. But even in the field of literature men such as Jerome and Gregory have claims to men's admiration.

A most interesting chapter is that entitled "The Scottish Age," wherein is described the work of Irishmen in the preservation and diffusion of ancient culture. He ascribes the goodness of their Latin to their independence of tradition, the result of the fact that their knowledge of the language was learned from books, which gave them a style not easily attainable by men whose vernacular was Latin in its later and altered forms.

Mr. Foligno is a frank partisan of the importance of Rome, both Pagan and Christian, in the history of the transmission and development of culture. Rome, the heir of Greek ideas, assimilated her heritage no doubt in her own way ; but it is to her, and not least to the Rome of the medieval period, that the

modern world owes much of what is regarded as culture. Mr. Foligno's account of this aspect is convincing and sympathetic. His knowledge of the literature of the period is wide, and his book, unpretentious but solid, will prove a useful corrective of ideas that one, even now, finds too frequently in popular historical writings. W. J. W.

THE ENGLISH NOVEL. By Ford Madox Ford. London: Constable. 1930. Pp. 142+xv. 5s. net.

On the jacket of this book the publishers have printed the following words: "Mr. Ford is thinking aloud rather than writing literary prose criticism." The literary critics may not quite like this distinction, but there is no doubt that Mr. Ford does give us in this pleasant little sketch a refreshing exhibition of the almost forgotten art of thinking.

His thesis is that the English novel has evolved, between Defoe and Conrad, into that type which by its fidelity to life and its suppression of the author's personality is best calculated to carry the reader bodily into the land of make-believe. This evolution, however, has been anything but a steady one. In fact it is Mr. Ford's contention that after the first tentative efforts of Defoe, Bunyan (counted fairly enough in this connection as a novelist) and Richardson, there was a lapse which stretched from Fielding to Meredith during which the whole body of English novelists seemed "to cut their characters out with hatchets and to colour them with the brushes of house-painters," and to be "perpetually pushing their own faces and winking at you over the shoulders" of those characters. With Charles Reade and Dickens, the novel, already consciously or unconsciously moralising, became "the vehicle for the reform of abuses." Under the influence of these two main tendencies there established itself in Mid-Victorian years the English Novel, sketched by Mr. Ford in happy strokes: "A Manor House, inhabited by the Best People: Sir Thomas, amiable but not bright; Lady Charlotte, benevolent, charitable, in an ample crinoline; the Misses Jean and Charlotte, as pure as dew within lily-chalices; Mr. Tom—not absolutely satisfactory; Mr. Edward, always satisfactory." This decorous idyll circulated all over the globe, "so that God's Englishman of the novels of William Black—God's drooping-bearded Englishman, with his crinolined or be-bustled consort, carrying fly-fishing rods and croquet mallets—became the type which the whole world sighingly envied."

For the influences that rescued the English novel from this

tradition Mr. Ford looks across the Channel to Diderot, Stendhal and Flaubert. To them he attributes "the discovery that words put into the mouth of a character need not be considered as having the personal backing of the author," and from this discovery he traces the rise of the modern school of objective "aloof" novelists, of whom the pioneers were Henry James, Stephen Crane, and Joseph Conrad—not one of them, by the way, an Englishman.

Perhaps the best feature of Mr. Ford's thesis is that he realises himself that such mapping out of literary movements must necessarily be qualified at every hand's turn by reservations and exceptions, and must inevitably be coloured by personal views. He pleasantly compares his little book to one of the ancient maps where the cartographer left blank spaces in places where his enemies dwelt, and labelled them: "Here be Crocodiles," "Here be Stenches." Even when one disagrees, one finds it hard to criticise such a disarming opponent. If any criticism can be made, it is rather of the big principles that underlie Mr. Ford's survey than of the actual survey itself. Mr. Ford seems to assume that the "aloof" novel, precisely because it carries the reader with it, is superior to the subjective novel. He also seems to assume that the mere skilful telling of a good story which, though unreal, fascinates and entertains, is an inferior achievement to the presentation of what is commonly called "real life." These are big assumptions and might bear a deeper analysis. F. McG.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND CURRENT LITERATURE. By George N. Shuster. The Calvert Series. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1930. 4s.

THE author of this little book has faced the heavy task of dealing within the space of less than a hundred pages with the many problems involved in the relations between Catholicism and Literature. In particular he seeks an explanation for a problem of the hour—the absence of notable Catholic influence in contemporary letters. Is the "cooling of Catholic enthusiasm" for literature—one of the splendid adventures of the human spirit—due to any inherent opposition between art, literary art in particular, and Catholic standards of life and criticism? The question is one of no small interest and demands a thoughtful and critical answer. Mr. Shuster's answer has the disadvantage of not being very clear, in places at least. This is due partly to the extreme condensation that is needed, partly to his manner of writing. He has a tantalising way of putting the cup of meaning to one's lips and then suddenly withdrawing it before one has

sipped. He is ever at pains to say things pithily, strikingly, figuratively—anything but plainly. It is only fair to recall that he has dealt with these matters at large and at leisure in a much ampler work—*The Catholic Spirit in English Literature* (Macmillan, 1925, pp. 363). Moreover, after the first two chapters of the little book under review, the going is easier.

Having made this one reservation we hasten to add that Mr. Shuster's book is full of interest. One explanation, he thinks, of the comparative dearth of notable Catholic literature is the habit we have acquired of looking upon writing as an instrument of religion. The public tends to believe that all Catholic publications are bound to advocate holiness, expound doctrine, or set out to edify. They spy a moral or an apologetic purpose in every tale and even in every piece of poetry. They ask themselves, What is he trying to teach me ? Catholic writers tend to forget that the art purpose is not the moralist's purpose. Art may teach even better than moralising, but it does not teach *by* moralising. Average people ask something else of literature—refreshment, escape, emotion, anything but a lesson. Could this be the reason why Catholic literature is so astonishingly little read ? " It has been estimated," writes our author, " that the total Catholic reading public in the United States—that is, the public which buys books by Catholic authors even irregularly—does not exceed thirty thousand." (p. 37). Yet Catholics surely have it in their power to make to literature contributions of unique value. But, for that Catholic literature must not be that of a coterie, not a *littérature de sacristie.* " To set the Christian faith squarely once again in the very midst of mankind may profitably be the ambition of the new literature of which we dream " (p.44). [1]

The writer next discusses the *moral* issues of his subject. This chapter is of very actual interest to us in Ireland in view of the establishment of a Censorship and because of the criticism it has aroused. The point chiefly dwelt on here is the extreme difficulty of the problem. There follows a chapter on the Index of forbidden books in which Catholic teaching on this subject is set forth from the viewpoint of the man of letters. This reasoned defence of Church control of literature within the sphere of faith and morals is interesting and welcome.

Apart from a few pages in which the author summarizes his conclusions, the rest of the book is devoted to a survey, country

[1] In France the Abbé Calvet has discussed these and kindred questions in a remarkable book—*D'une Critique catholique.*

by country, of the contemporary renaissance of Catholic letters. In the case of each country Mr. Shuster can touch upon only a few outstanding names, but he manages to sum up neatly the state and the spirit of Catholic literature there. Coming to Ireland he finds that a notable weakness of our Celtic renaissance, to whose significant qualities he does justice, is its isolation from European culture. He "cannot discern a single idea by which Catholic Ireland is likely to be remembered in the future "(p.73). On the other hand "modern poetry has produced nothing more delicate or genuine than the lyrics of two groups of Irish Catholic writers," the one represented by Katharine Tynan, the other including Mangan, Dora Sigerson, Padraic Colum, Joseph Campbell and Thomas MacDonough (*sic*). He pays a noteworthy tribute to Pearse. "There is nothing more illustrious in the modern world than Pearse's spiritual courage and hope. In it one smells the perfume of a long martyrology and the incense of an essentially Christian resolve."

What he has to say about the Catholic literary movement in other countries—about Huysmans, Léon Bloy, Péguy, Verlaine, Claudel, and others in France, for instance—is interesting and noteworthy. Much of it will, I venture to say, be new to almost any reader. Especially noteworthy are his general conclusions, which however, being themselves a highly condensed summary, do not admit of being summarized here. S. J. B.

Philosophy

PHILOSOPHICAL THEOLOGY. By F. R. Tennant, D.D. (Camb.), B.Sc. (Lond.), Hon. D.D. (Oxon.), Fellow of Trinity College and Lecturer in the University of Cambridge. Vol. II. The World, the Soul, and God. Cambridge : University Press. 1930. Pp. xiv.+276. 15s. net.

THE first volume of Dr. Tennant's *Philosophical Theology*, previously reviewed in *Studies*, expounded a theory of knowledge the tendency of which was to minimise the capacity of human reason, restricting the sphere of logical demonstration and widening that of "alogical" reasonableness as the ground of beliefs. This theory is reflected in the way in which he conceives the method of philosophical theology. This is "the empirical, inductive, and explanatory method, adopted in varying degrees of fragmentariness and completeness by Locke and Butler, Lotze and James Ward." Coupled with his theory of knowledge, this method, as here applied, inevitably descends frequently to mere arbitrariness. Dr. Tennant

rightly rejects merely *a priori* methods of natural theology, but is mistaken in attributing such methods to the Scholastic theologians. Their method is partly *a posteriori*, partly *a priori*: taking facts as their starting point, they use deduction as well. It is, indeed, impossible to dispense with deduction; and Dr. Tennant himself cannot help using it abundantly.

The argument of the book may be outlined thus. Considering the nature of the universe, including man, our demand for explanation is not reasonably satisfied unless we postulate a world-ground. This world-ground must be a designer and also creator: a spirit with intelligence and will; distinct from the world, but in unique relation with all its parts; personal and ethically perfect; ordering the universe with moral purposiveness.

The opening chapters are concerned with science, since certain types of scientific theory have a direct bearing on theology. That there is regularity, order, in the world is the most important starting point for theism. Certain scientific explanations of this regularity would exclude theism. The conformity of the world to law is, accordingly, discussed at length. Here Dr. Tennant is at his happiest, surveying in his condensed and stately style the various scientific issues.

This discussion leads up to the central chapter, the most brilliant and instructive of the book, on cosmic teleology. Here the argument from design is presented in a new form: as a cumulative argument, depending not so much on special cases of adaptiveness as on the fact that the universe is an intelligible cosmos, involving the "conspiration of innumerable causes to produce, by their united and reciprocal action, and to maintain, a general order of Nature." "The main fields in which adaptation is conspicuous are those of the knowability or intelligibility of the world, the internal adaptedness of organic beings, the fitness of the inorganic to minister to life, the aesthetic value of Nature, the world's instrumentality in the realisation of moral ends, and the progressiveness in the evolutionary process culminating in the emergence of man with his rational and moral status." The arguments furnished by each of these fields are set forth and examined; but "it is rather when these several fields of fact are no longer considered one by one, but as parts of a whole or terms of a continuous series, and when for their dovetailing and interconnectedness a sufficient ground is sought, such as mechanical and proximate causation no longer seems to supply, that divine design is forcibly suggested."

The chapters immediately following, in which the attributes

of God are discussed, are less satisfactory. This is partly due to the unsuitableness of the method ; for here a deductive method would be more in place ; having established certain essential characteristics of the Deity, we are in a position to deduce a number of attributes. A more important fault is that while these chapters go over the ground so fully explored by the Scholastic theologians, the author discusses and sometimes rejects their tenets without accurately understanding their import.

That the designer of the universe must be a creator, not a mere architect, is well argued. The notion of creation is held to be essential to theism ; and the alternatives to creation—emanation, etc.—are examined and rejected. The peculiar notion of creation held by the author, however, can hardly be said to be cogently established by his " empirical " method. It is a creation *ab aeterno* : " the world is coeval with God, and is contingent on His determinate Nature, inclusive of will." " God as a determinate being, implies a world." The discussion of the notions of eternity, infinity, perfection is mainly aporetic ; and the author too easily decides to be insuperable difficulties which the Scholastics discussed fully. Such difficulties are : how can God be infinite, if creation implies limitation ; or be immutable, and yet know a changing world ; or be omniscient, without prejudice to free will.

The book contains many brilliant discussions, as well as much that is off-hand and superficial. As a treatment of philosophical theology, it would have been more successful without the added brief discussion on revealed religion. The arbitrariness of the author's " empirical " method appears here most plainly ; and one is amazed at the ease with which he is prepared to set aside the most fundamental features of Christianity, merely on the ground that they are not " assimilable," and to admit the most radical conjectures of liberal critics because they are " easily assimilable." J. SHINE.

Theology and Scripture

EUCHARISTIE. Par Adhémar d'Alès. Paris : Bloud & Gay. 1930. 12 fr.

THE MASS EXPLAINED. By Rt. Rev. Alexander MacDonald. Boston : Badger. 1930. pp. 75.

IT IS THE MASS THAT MATTERS. By Rt. Rev. Alexander MacDonald. London : Kegan Paul. 1928 4s. 6d.

THE first of these books is an adaptation in French of Father d'Alès Latin work *Prima Lineamenta Tractatus dogmatici de Sanctissima Eucharistia.* It presents succinctly, but thoroughly and scientifically, practically the whole treatise on the Eucharist,

transposed from the technical forms of the Latin text-books into a form more acceptable to the educated layman. The exposition of the questions is clear and thorough: the Scripture arguments for the sacrificial character of the Mass and the Real Presence are developed with relative fullness; the arguments from tradition are outlined. Such theological questions as the nature of transubstantiation and the formal essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass are briefly treated. On the former, Father d'Alès follows the exposition of Cardinal Billot: on the latter he favours the theory of Father de la Taille, making the essence of sacrifice consist in the oblation, as opposed to real or mystical immolation.

In *The Mass Explained*, Dr. MacDonald aims at giving a brief popular explanation of the Mass, based on the views which he has expounded in his several books on the Mass. The second book from his pen mentioned above has for its aim to establish, from Scripture and Tradition, the same doctrine. His thesis is thus enunciated: "In the Last Supper Christ our Lord offered His sacrifice for sin under forms of bread and wine, consummated it on the Cross, and continues it in the Holy Mass by the ministry of His Priests." The Supper, Calvary, and the Mass are three parts of one sacrifice: the Supper is the oblation and the consecration of the victim; the Passion, the slaying of the victim; the Mass "the liturgical complement and complete operation and application" of the other two parts.

The most difficult point in this theory is that, according to it, the Passion of Our Lord, without the Supper, would not have been a sacrifice at all. This is directly asserted by the author (p. 52): "Were it not for the voluntary and visible offering He made of Himself to God the Father in the Supper, the Passion and death would not have been a sacrifice at all; it would have been simply Deicide." We must confess that, personally, we have never been able to see how this assertion could be reconciled with the words of the Council of Trent, and with Scripture and Tradition. The Council says that, although He was about *to offer* himself to God the Father on the *altar of the Cross*, yet he *offered* His body and blood under the species of bread and wine at the last supper. It uses in both cases the same term, "oblaturus erat . ... obtulit." It gives us the reason of this offering in the Supper —that He might leave to His Church a visible sacrifice by which the bloody sacrifice of the Cross might be represented, its memory might remain till the end of the world, and its salutary power might be applied to the remission of those faults which we daily commit; and so He gave to His Apostles the precept that they

should offer under the same symbols. The plain meaning seems to be that He offered Himself in the Supper in order to institute the Sacrifice of the Mass. Again, in the second chapter, the bloody offering on Calvary is twice contrasted with the unbloody offering in the Mass; and we are told that they differ only in the manner of offering. Throughout two sacrifices, two oblations are contrasted; the one by which our Redemption was worked—"ut aeternam illic redemptionem operaretur": the other by which the merits of that bloody sacrifice are applied—"cujus quidem oblationis cruentae, inquam, fructus per hanc incruentam uberrime percipiuntur; tantum abest ut illi per hanc quovis modo derogetur." Is it not plain that the word "offering" has in all three cases the same sense: a sacrificial oblation? In Dr. MacDonald's theory, if I understand it aright, we cannot contrast the oblation of the Last Supper and the Mass with the oblation of Calvary as bloody with unbloody, because on Calvary, if taken apart from the Supper, there was no liturgical external oblation at all; there was only deicide. P. O'D.

A CATHOLIC HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS. Being an Adaptation of the Synopsis Evangelica of Père M.-J. Lagrange, O.P. Edited by the Rev. John M. T. Barton, D.D. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1930. 7s. 6d.

VERBUM SALUTIS V. L'Evangile de N.S. Jésus Christ. By Paul Jouon, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. 1930. 45 fr.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO SAINT MARK. By the V. Rev. M. J. Lagrange, O.P. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1930. 5s.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO SAINT LUKE. By Madame Cecilia. Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 2nd ed. 1930. 6s.

HALF-HOURS WITH ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL (Ch. I-XI). By Charles F. Blount, S.J. Burns, Oates & Washbourne. 1930. 3s. 6d.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN. By Robert Eaton of the Birmingham Oratory. London: Sands. 1930. 3s. 6d.

ST. PAUL AND HIS TEACHING. Lectures. Edited by the Rev. C. Lattey, S.J. London: Sands. 1930. 3s. 6d.

THE BIBLE BEAUTIFUL. By Mother Mary Eaton. London: Longmans. 1930. 2s.

MUCH sound learning has gone to the making of these books. Still, they constitute in the main a contribution not so much to Biblical erudition as to general usefulness. They comprise a Harmony of the Gospels, a new translation of them, three New Testament commentaries intended for the use of the faithful in general, a popular work on St. Paul, and an adaptation of the Old Testament for general use.

A Harmony, which is an arrangement of the four Gospels in parallel columns so as to make clear their resemblances and differences, has many uses: it concentrates on the Life of our

Lord light thrown from four different angles: it helps us to grasp the chronological sequence of events, as far as that sequence can be reconstituted; and it is indispensable for the study of the Synoptic Question, that is the problem of the interdependence and independence of the three "Synoptic" Gospels with regard to one another. For this third purpose, however, only a harmony of the original Greek text is really serviceable. Such a Harmony was Père Lagrange's original work, of which this is an adaptation, the Douay translation being here substituted for the Greek text. Dr. Barton has provided an Introduction and notes of his own, as well as an elaborate apparatus of Indexes and Tables. The result is a substantial work of 306 pages, which ought to prove most useful to preachers and to students of the Life of our Lord. Its *size* seems to me its one drawback.

The *raison d'être* of Père Jouon's book is the fact that the native language not only of the personages whose words are written in the Gospels but of the writers themselves (all of them Jews) was not Greek but Aramaic, a Semitic dialect derived from Hebrew. If their native tongue was Semitic their caste of mind, their ideas, their way of looking at things was Semitic also and could not but find expression in any language they might write or speak. On the other hand, the Greek of the New Testament is not a mere translation of Semitic thought-forms, but genuine contemporary Greek, however crude at times. So that the author in undertaking to study the Greek text with a view to an Aramaic substratum which, as he admits (p. xv), is at the best sporadic and conjectural, set himself a delicate and difficult task. For that task, however, he is thoroughly equipped, having long specialised in Semitic studies and being the author of an important Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. And the task was well worth attempting, for it held promise not only of throwing fresh light here and there on the sacred text, but of bringing fresh evidence to bear on the traditional ascription of the authorship to Aramaic-speaking Palestinian Jews of the first century. The commentary, as might be expected, is almost exclusively philological and critical, but here and there are valuable exegetical sidelights which help to elucidate interpretation. Though the notes would be fully intelligible only to scholars, the translation is for all and the work has been included in the semi-popular series *Verbum Salutis*.

Père Lagrange's commentaries on the Gospels in the "Etudes Bibliques" series run to some 600 closely-printed demy 8vo pages

each, with introductions of between 100 and 200 pages. Here we have the text of St. Mark's Gospel and a complete commentary on it in 180 small pages, with an introduction of only seven. The contrast is striking. Yet the great Biblical scholar contrives within this narrow compass to elucidate wonderfully the Gospel narrative. Only Père Lagrange could have written a commentary of this peculiar excellence. It is a pity that this book lacks a Foreword of any kind, so that we are not told anything about the original work of which this is a translation, and are left to infer as best we may what is the writer's scope and aim.

Madame Cecilia's commentary on St. Luke is in many ways a contrast to the book just spoken of. In the first place it runs to 840 pages, with an introduction of 70 pages. In the second place it is admittedly not an original work but a compilation from approved sources. Nearly every verse is carefully explained and interpreted, much of what is said being rather *à propos* of the text than directly on it. A great deal of most useful information about the times and the background of the Gospels is provided. The Second Part, originally a separate volume, consists of additional notes given in a more extended and continuous form than would be possible in the body of the commentary. Madame Cecilia's Scripture Manuals are intended for "young Catholics preparing for the University Local Examinations and for Catholic student teachers." To these and to others it ought to be most useful, though some will think that the quantity of material it provides for the learner is somewhat overpowering.

Father Blount's little book on St. John's Gospel has quite a different purpose in view. Devotion and the spiritual profit of the reader is what it aims at. To this end the Gospel text is divided into sections. A paraphrase of each text is given, and this is followed by a "Reflection" on some leading thought in the section. These reflections are not usually brilliant or striking, but they are sound and helpful. It may be doubted if a paraphrase is as helpful as one might expect it to be. It gives the sense, as a rule, but at the expense of the form which it destroys. And thus for many it is all but unreadable.

The characteristics of Father Eaton's brief (just 76 pages) commentary on St. John's Apocalypse are well summed up in Father Bird's Preface: it is "an exposition of the Apocalypse which is based on sure scholarship, is expressed with admirable simplicity, and gives a clear insight into the meaning of the prophecy. His intention has not been to produce a critical commentary useful only for the advanced student. . . . Instead

he has in mind the intelligent Catholic reader . . . who cannot afford time for prolonged study." It is not a verse by verse commentary, but reads continuously and is very readable.

We turn next to a little book on St. Paul. In this five writers, or rather lecturers, deal with as many different aspects of the subject, viz., St. Paul's Life and Letters, the Divinity of Christ, the Church, the Blessed Eucharist, and the Second Coming. The lectures are expository rather than controversial, popular in manner but extremely solid and even learned in substance. In his Preface Father Lattey points out the capital importance for to-day of the subjects dealt with. On all these vital doctrinal questions at issue between the Catholic Church and those who have abandoned her St. Paul is a powerful witness for the Catholic Faith.

Mother Eaton's book does for Catholics what has often been done under non-Catholic auspices. It gives not a paraphrase but the very text of those portions of the Old Testament most suited for the general reading of young and old. She claims that no part of the Sacred Narrative likely to appeal to the young has been omitted. How much has been retained may be judged from the fact that this book contains 440 closely-printed pages. All this for two shillings ! The book is a marvel of cheapness.

S. J. B.

Miscellaneous

THE NEW CATHOLIC DICTIONARY. Published under the auspices of the Editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia. New York : Universal Knowledge Foundation. Dublin : Phoenix Publishing Co. 1930. 42s. (cloth), 52s. (buckram), 62s. (half-leather).

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* has filled a want. It was, therefore, a happy idea of the Editors to plan a general *résumé* in one volume ; for such, in the main, is the work under review. The title *Dictionary* is misleading ; so, too, is the sub-title : " A Complete Work of Reference on every subject in the Life, Belief, Tradition, etc., of the Church." The field is too vast to admit in such a compass a complete work. But the Editors have been courageous. They have succeeded in providing a large amount of useful information on various points of Catholic thought and activity.

We should be happy to see this volume brought to such perfection that one day it might become the standard work of ready reference on the different topics with which it deals. We say

" one day " advisedly, for the first edition contains many mistakes —some of them of a serious nature—which should be emended. It also contains omissions which, considering the claim of the sub-title, are hard to explain.

We can do no more than select a few items here and there to support this contention. Under the word *Chastity* we are told that the " simple vow may be any one of four kinds (of virginity, of not marrying, of receiving Sacred Orders, of entering religion)." Every statement is erroneous : it is clear, for instance, that one who has vowed not to marry or to enter religion has not violated any vow of chastity if he sin against the sixth commandment.

Original Justice is called " the aggregate of all those organically correlated prerogatives which constituted the state of our first parents in Paradise." As we read on we naturally ask what *organic* correlation could exist between sanctifying grace and bodily immortality ?

The Sacred Host is defined to be " the *bread* after the act of consecration, when it has been changed into the Body of Christ." This is equivalent to saying " bread which is not bread." A similar definition is given of the Sacred Species.

There are many good, succinct articles on theological subjects, but there are a sufficient number of inaccurate or slip-shod ones to make us desire a complete revision of this section. We might mention, amongst these latter, *Baptismal Grace*, *Opus operatum*, *Supernatural Mortification*, *Mysticism*, *Sin*, *Original Sin*, *Prayer*, *Omission*, *Infused Virtue*, *Impeccability*, *Venial Sin*, *Religion and Science*.

We turn to the article on *Education*. The writer of this article contents himself with a number of general statements, *e.g.*, " The Church was the chief educational agency in the Middle Ages. Monasteries were its centers. The schools followed." These assertions, unsupported by facts, are unsatisfying for the reader who would like tangible proofs with which to meet the ever-recurring calumnies about the obscurantism of the Church. The long lists of boys' and girls' schools—mainly in the United States—might well be omitted and the space devoted to more useful information.

The account of specific educators is equally disappointing. Thus St. J. Baptist de la Salle is described as the father of modern pedagogy, but we are left to imagine what that may mean. Useless to hunt in the *Dictionary*, for there is no mention of the important science of Pedagogy, in which the Church has played, and is playing, such a constructive part. There is no hint that the essentials of the Saint's system

were adopted by the much-lauded Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart, a tribute which may be read in the more informative sketch in *Pitman's Encyclopaedia of Education*. Equally disappointing are the notices of *St. Sophie Barat*, *Mgr. Dupanloup*, the *Ratio Studiorum*. William Bathe, whose *Janua Linguarum* had such a wide influence in the schools of England, Germany and Southern Europe, is ignored. Surely he is more deserving of the Church than, *e.g.*, Bolzano or Boyce.

In general the element of patient scholarship, which weighs and sifts, seems missing in much of the work. Many names of unimportant writers or scientists, or of those to whom a purely local interest belongs, are given, whilst others of outstanding worth are omitted. Thus under the letter " H " we should prefer G. M. Hopkins to I. A. Henderson ; under the letter " P " we should consider the work of E. Pernet of more general interest than that of Perrone. Ricci is wrongly described as " the founder of the Catholic Chinese missions " ; there is no reference to John of Montecorvino, though the writer on China mentions the missionary activity of the early fourteenth century.

A Bibliography of 34 pages is appended, with the introductory note that in it " the editors have attempted to name the best available books by Catholic authors." Yet no continental writers are included, except when an English translation of their works is to be found, so that in many cases very second rate or third rate books replace in the lists " the best available books."

We have dwelt on the shortcomings of the *New Catholic Dictionary* just because we appreciate the courage and the concept of the Editors. We only hope that the same courage will inspire them to present a thoroughly revised edition ; if they do so, they will have deserved well of the Church, of the student, and of the man in the street. G. B.

LA MEDECINE DANS LES MISSIONS. Conférences données à l'Institut Catholique de Paris, 1928-1929. Paris : Bloud et Gay. 1930. 14 fr.

PIE XI ET LA MEDECINE AU SERVICE DES MISSIONS. Abbé Dr. Ugo Bertini. Paris : Bloud et Gay. 1930. 6 fr.

Towards the end of the year 1928 the *Union Missionnaire du Clergé* organized a series of conferences bearing on the urgent problem of Catholic medical missionary work. These were delivered at the Institut Catholique in Paris, and achieved a notable success ; they are now published in book form. The two volumes whose titles are placed at the head of these remarks are

not, to steal a theological term, "adequately distinct," for Don Bertini's conference on Pius XI and medicine in the service of the missions was the introductory paper of the series, and is reprinted without essential abbreviation in the larger volume.

Don Bertini states the problem with admirable force and incisiveness. In the interest both of the missionaries and of the peoples for whom they toil, increased medical welfare work is a vital need. To give just two of his figures :—1. The average *increased* life of missionaries in those districts in which medical assistance is at hand is *eight* years. 2. The depopulation of French Congo owing to sleeping sickness has reached the terrifying figure of 50 per cent. in ten years. The question of medical help for the missions has been faced courageously by the Protestant missionary societies, who have done much in this field. Don Bertini is candid in acknowledging their efforts, and rightly generous in praise of them ; but his revelation of the poverty of Catholic action in the matter comes as a distressing surprise, and not all the explanations which he advances for our want of practical understanding and assistance can quite reconcile one to a position of such marked inferiority.

The other conferences are no less interesting and stimulating. Dr. Pasteau, whose subject is the medical instruction of missionaries, and Professor Havet of Louvain, who speaks on medical welfare work in Catholic missions, tell us little that is new, but say it gracefully and with sincerity. There are three admirable lectures on leprosy, on purulent ophthalmia, and on sleeping sickness—this latter conference by a Holy Ghost Father, Père Greffier, who was himself attacked by the disease. The remaining conferences, four in all, sustain to the full the reader's awakened interest. D. D.

Books received

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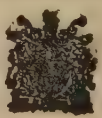

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